DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 026 975 24 HE 000 769

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College Influences on the Role Development of Female Undergraduates.

Stanford Univ., Calif. Inst. for Study of Human Problems.

Spons Agency-Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Bureau of Research.

Bureau No-BR-7-8153

Pub Date Jan 69

Contract-OEC-4-7-078153-2725

Note-104p.

EDRS Price MF-$0.50 HC-$5.30

Descriptors-*Females, *Higher Education, Individual Characteristics, Individual Development, Psychological Characteristics, *Role Perception, *Self Actualization, Undergraduate Study

The purpose of the study was to investigate the psychosocial factors affecting the educational and occupational development of women undergraduates. Emphasis was placed on discovering manifestations and determinants of the development of autonomy. Divided into 2 parts, the report first surveys 2 decades of research literature concerning the educational, occupational and sociopsychological development of undergraduate and adult women. It includes a critical evaluation of the research and recommendations for further studies. The second part contains an analysis of test, questionnaire and interview data obtained in a 4-year longitudinal study of male and female students. An analysis of the interview data led to the ordering of female students on a continuum of degrees of autonomy. This ordering into subgroups was subsequently corroborated by an analysis of the test and questionnaire responses. It was found that the differences in degrees of autonomy the women achieved were related to differences in background factors, mainly parental influence, and were predictive of life styles in and after college. Recommendations are made for modifying the academic program, counseling and milieu of each of the subgroups distinguished in the study. The variations of female responses to societal and parental pressures to adopt specific roles or follow specific careers are described in extensive detail. Recognition of the intellectual and marital motivations of college women and their effect upon educational and occupational objectives should be helpful in formulating sound educational policies. (Author/JS)

BR 7-8153
PA-24
OE-BR

ED0 26975

FINAL REPORT

Project No. Br 7-8153

Contract No. OEC 4-7-078153-2725

COLLEGE INFLUENCES ON THE ROLE DEVELOPMENT OF FEMALE UNDERGRADUATES

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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January 1969

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HE 000 769

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The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

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SUMMARY

The problem under investigation in this report concerns the psychosocial factors affecting the educational and occupational development of women undergraduates, with emphasis on manifestations and determinants of the development of autonomy. The report comprises two parts.

The first part surveys two decades of the research literature regarding the educational, occupational and socio-psychological development of undergraduate and adult women. In includes a critical evaluation of the research and recommendations for future research.

The second part reports an analysis of test, questionnaire and interview data obtained in a four-year longitudinal study of male and female college students. The interview data were subjected to an analysis that led to the ordering of female students on a continuum of degrees of autonomy. This ordering was subsequently corroborated by an analysis of the test and questionnaire responses obtained from the same students. It was found that differences in the degree of autonomy achieved by the women are related to different background factors, such as parental upbringing, and are prognostic of different life styles in and after college.

The autonomy continuum developed in this report breaks away from the well-worn "marriage vs. career" conceptual framework by cutting across both dimensions. Variations of female responses to pressures to follow specific role and career patterns are described in detail. The tentative typology suggested in this study provides guidelines for the early identification of women students in regard to their own perception of feminine role and the degree of their achieved autonomy. For each of the four subgroups distinguished in this study, special recommendations are made for their academic course program, counseling, and milieu modifications. This approach tends to dimensionalize the single entity of the college woman, and to provide a sounder basis for educational policy by recognizing major patterns of psychological disposition towards the pursuit of educational and occupational objectives.

Chapter I

RESEARCH AND THE UNDERGRADUATE EDUCATION OF WOMEN: A BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY

Carole A. Leland, Ph.D.

John F. Kennedy's appointment of a Commission on the Status of Women in 1961 focused national attention on the position of women in American life. The focus was not new to countless writers, educators and counselors who had produced a prolific popular and professional literature on the subject, especially since World War II. But, whatever impact the Commission has or will exert on the nation, at the very least, its establishment may have underscored that the social, economic and political problems of this country demand the realization of individual talents, whether male or female. For large numbers of women such realization had not occurred when the President's Commission reported to the country, "Greater development of women's potential and fuller use of their present abilities can greatly inhance the quality of American life." (American Women, 1963, p.1).

In a sense there has been no end of writing about women, particularly in the past two decades when American women filled large voids in the labor market. A major assumption of most writers has been that since World War II life for the American female compounds demands and complexities because she faces new alternatives and attractions outside her home and family life. Most writing, however either illuminates historical events or underscores social changes. With relatively few exceptions it does not constitute a research literature. Within the span of a few decades women have been extended the right to vote, the right to be educated and the right to assume a place in the labor force beyond the menial level. The totality of these and other accomplishments represented a major social revolution. Its attendant problems and concerns thus resulted in a voluminous literature, sometimes significant for its portrayal of social history, frequently impassioned and dramatic in its emphasis upon apparent social injustice or psychological conflicts.

In other words, a sense that much has been stated and written about American Women is unquestionably accurate. A research literature on this subject, however, constitutes both a recent and a far less available phenomenon. In 1957, for example, a Conference directed to the problem of women's education, made a special point of the need to undertake research, and to index the research and research workers focusing on this particular population. No apparent, significant progress has been made in implementing such a charge, made over a decade ago. (David, 1959.)

1. RESEARCH ACTIVITIES OVER TWO DECADES: SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

There are legitimate reasons for a somewhat sparce research literature about American women in general, or about particular segments of the female population. Certainly the complexity of the subject makes research design formidable, if not impossible at times. It is most unlikely that researchers, regardless of their interests, would undertake to study the American male in his totality. Yet some approaches to research about women have appeared that global. Consequently researchable questions and problems have evolved slowly and only when scholars have faced the realities and limitations inherent in the subject.

Another reason for relatively few research studies has been a tendency for research workers to concentrate on male subjects whenever they collect data for large populations. Studies in occupational choice and development, and vocational interests to cite only two examples, tended until very recently, to focus on the situation of the male. Given limited time and resources, researchers proceed on the questions which seem to have greatest urgency, and in the vast area of manpower resources, for example, this resulted in concentrated analysis of data for males rather than females.

The notion of being "less available" also has special relevance to women as a research topic. There have been a number of efforts to research the topic but often the results have gone unpublished and unnoticed. These sometimes fragmentary efforts frequently represented the efforts of concerned and able professional women and associations, but the topic has rarely captured general attention. And too, what research has been available has apparently affected or shaped too few programs or projects to be recognized for its possible significance.

Finally, it is often difficult for professional workers to assess the availability of research because they do not always agree on what constitutes "research." For example, on the subject of women, some large fact-gathering, follow-up studies of women college graduates contribute information but infrequently provide analyses, or elaborate casual relationships. Classifying such studies as "research" becomes questionable, and again tends to leave the impression that little has been done to study women.

What research has been done about women clusters about, or has received impetus from some quite general issues and questions, frequently interrelated or overlapping, and to many researchers, uncomfortably repetitious. Probably the greatest research impetus has come from the topic of talent identification and manpower utilization. The statement by the President's Commission, cited earlier, reflects a concern which evolved in the late Forties and gained considerable momentum in the Sputnik era. Namely, the country could no longer afford mere casual interest in how men and women used their native abilities. In this content research workers paid increased attention to women, and in particular, to those women who constituted a highly talented manpower resource. In exploring the dimensions of the topic analysts highlighted some facts which now represent common concerns, but prior to 1950 they apparently caused little apprehension. Declining percentages of women entering college for the appropriate age cohorts, and declines in percentages of women receiving advanced degrees evidenced some potentially serious losses of talent. The small percentages of women in "demand" fields such as medicine, science and mathematics underscored tendencies in the society to "assign" individuals to occupational roles on the basis of factors such as sex, rather than in keeping with the notion of developing individual abilities and interests. In addition, many women appeared to adjust to difficulties encountered in entering such fields, especially medicine, by not applying, which in fact may constitute a self-fulfilling prophecy, thus closing the cycle maintaining the *status quo*.

In addition to the question of talent identification, academicians found researchable topics related to women as a result of considerable shifts in manpower distribution, and as a result of a rapidly changing social milieu. For example, in 1940 there were four million married women workers in the United States, but by 1965 that figure had increased to 14.7 million. (Women's Bureau, 1966). Entrance into the labor market for so many married women emphasized changing manpower demands, but underscored as well new attitudes about women and their roles as homemakers. Labor statistics also highlighted the small percentage of available professional women, and the demands for workers in certain occupations for which too few women had been trained. To a degree the Civil Rights Movement, with its commitment to rid the country of discriminatory practices and inequities related to education and employment, contributed to the social ferment which produced an increasing concern for women and has provided new emphases in research about them.

While manpower and talent questions induced research studies about women, such work tended to be actuarial, reporting quite global trends and concerns. A small number of research attempts, however, described the problems and patterns or life styles characteristic of women, in relation to their educational and occupational aspirations and commitments. Until quite recently three studies represented the major attempts to treat the special problems of women and these were confined to research about college women. Newcomb's work at Bennington College, Komarovsky's studies at Barnard, and Sanford's Vassar Studies, provided some focus around the problems, life patterns and possible typologies for women, although only for college-educated women. Nonetheless such studies, and other investigations with less reknown, evolved in response to the apparent psychological and sociological impact on women of the post World War II years. Social and individual problems related to marriage, family-rearing, work, and the inherent demands of several differing roles produced new research possibilities, some of which remain unexplored.

In suggesting the sources of studies concerned specifically with women, one additional influence appears clear. Increased interest in adolescent and more recently post-adolescent development, resulted from the fury of the Sputnik era and the consequent scrutiny of educational practices. From a consideration of elementary and secondary education, critics and researchers alike have moved to intense study of college students and institutions. Though this point will be treated more fully later, we wish to emphasize that in a new atmosphere of analysis and change in higher education, special situations, like those of women students, tend to appear more obvious than in the past. To some extent in the 1950's, but more currently, studies of college students highlight problems and characteristics of women and thus such work represents an important stimulus for future research prospects.

From these somewhat general issues and questions a research literature on the topic of women evolves and may extend. Available research studies share some commonalities. For the most part, as Cross (1968) and others underscore, college women, graduates and undergraduates, remain the major subjects of research studies about women, and they continue to represent a select group in our society.

Secondly, data about women derive most frequently from large questionnaire studies, or from small and highly specialized studies, from which generalizations are virtually impossible. Seldom do reports provide more than informative, distinctly unfinished statistical representations of such data collection.

Research about women here accentuated the continuing cultural ambivalence about educating and employing women. Though such ambivalence remains a difficult phenomenon to document, most research writing focuses on a sense of conflict which women experience, or appear to experience as a result of changing social values related to marriage and work. Despite high concentration on the more accessible college or college graduate populations, researchers do depict the situations of women at diverse ages and choice points in their lives. Very frequently studies reveal complex, conflicted or at the very least ambivalent attitudes toward marriage and employment outside the home.

Further, research portrays women in a series of dichotomies, most typically marriage-career oriented (phrased often as marriage versus career), passive-active, traditional-modern, or masculine-feminine. While these models supposedly represent a continuum, too frequently professional and popular writers dwell on group tendencies toward polarization. Over a period of at least two decades research questions and results tend to be remarkably similar, thus leaving either a sense of repetition or a feeling that research has offered no prospects for dealing with special problems of women.

For, not only have research models and results appeared similar, but also recommendations for action or further research frequently coincide. Over the past decades researchers have underscored the seriousness of the cultural ambivalence directed to women, and have recommended courses of action to treat the ensuing psychological impact on both groups and individuals. They have called for greater awareness of the special educational and occupational situations of women and have suggested alternatives in women's education such as intensified undergraduate programs to assure their occupational preparation, and increased emphasis upon special counseling needs of women students at all educational levels. Almost without exception research summaries and recommendations include proposals for increasing female role models in the course of undergraduate education, and in particular, suggest the necessity for colleges to provide women faculty members who exemplify the realities of assuming both the professional and homemaker roles. Some studies have documented the need for financial support and other motivational inducements to ensure higher enrollments of women in graduate and professional training.

Finally, research scholars tend to agree on the need for more open discussion, among men and women, of the exigencies of male and female role assignments, with ample opportunity to explore the obstacles inherent in each. Though more recent in emphasis, the topic of communication between the sexes, appears in much research literature directed specifically to female concerns.

Recommendations like those cited suggest some progress in describing and understanding some special attributes and situations of American women. But with all respect to researchers, it seems fair to suggest that results of two decades of study leave vagueries and questions. Descriptions, problems or results and recommendations appear remarkably similar if one considers the magnitude and diversity of this topic. Yet, individual differences remain obscure; few researchers offer clear questions or hypotheses for experimentation; most studies are cautious and "exploratory" rather than experimental; few studies provide more than the methodology of questionnaire, fact-finding and actuarial summation; longitudinal studies remain rare and follow-up studies lack analyses which might reveal casual relationships. Despite consistent recommendations institutions which deal directly with the problems of women, particularly the women's colleges, evidence little change in response to research knowledge, and thus offer no support for urges that educational practices take some sex differences into account. In coeducational colleges and universities inattention to such research findings is probably more pronounced since such institutions traditionally have designed an occupationally-oriented educational program for their predominantly male populations.

2. STUDIES PARTICULARLY RELEVANT TO UNDERGRADUATE WOMEN

Selections in the bibliography emphasize studies related directly to undergraduate women, because the research in this report focuses on those college years. The references which follow outline some trends and recurring observations identified in research investigations, or by individual observers, as they attempted to describe the characteristics of undergraduate female students, particularly in relation to their educational and occupational planning.

In the mid-Fifties, Riesman stated, "the entire college generation wants, not a career, but a job as a supplement to marriage" (Riesman, 1956, p. 8). Studies at various collegiate institutions, for example the early assessment done by Komarovsky at Barnard in 1946-47, and the study of freshmen women done by Zissis at Purdue University, emphasize the strong commitment which college women hold toward marriage (Komarovsky, 1946; Sanford, 1956; Christensen and Swihart, 1956; Zissis, 1964; Freedman, 1965). In a most recent study Katz reports that 85% of his female subjects at Stanford ranked future occupation as "less important" than future family. (1968).

At the same time college women overwhelmingly indicate their inclinations toward marriage, they also show a tendency to reject the familiar home vs. career controversy in favor of some reconciliation of both commitments. In the interviews conducted as part of the Vassar Studies (Sanford, Freedman, Brown, et al., 1956) both undergraduates and young college alumnae expressed an unwillingness to view marriage and a career as incompatible (Bushnell, 1962, p. 509). Brown reports that Vassar alumnae categorized as "oriented toward future family situation," did not admit to being "content solely with the conventional notion of wife and mother but rather sought activities and duties outside the home." He goes on to note, "Sometimes their strivings in this latter direction appeared to have a quality of driveness as if the subject felt bound to live up to certain expectations" (Brown, 1956, p. 45).

In a study of 129 women majors in the physical sciences and engineering at seven colleges and universities, Dement reported that the majority expressed definite plans for their futures which included marriage and a return to work at some point in their lives (Dement, 1963). Sophomore women at Pennsylvania State University indicated some work orientation in almost 70 percent of the cases reported by Siegel and Curtis (1963). Fifty-one percent of the freshmen women questioned by Zissis expressed their plans to combine marriage and some type of career, while an additional 23 percent indicated their plan to work at some job either before or after marriage, although they were less committed to a career than the former group (Zissis, 1963).

Plans for graduate study also reveal, at least partially, coed intentions to maintain interests and possibly activities apart from homemaker responsibilities. Leland (1966) reported that nearly one-half of the women studied in a private university and in a public state college intended to begin graduate work at least part-time in the fall following their commencement (p. 61). Davis (1964) and Wilson (1967) found that while female students expected to delay entrance into graduate school, only somewhere less than one-quarter of those reporting indicated no plans for postgraduate study. Wilson points out, however, that such reports tend to reflect the ambiguities and complexities of career planning more than an understanding of the developmental process or factors influencing particular decisions. Of course, such statistics may tend to obscure what actually operates in the case of women. For many of them graduate work constitutes a short-term involvement, essentially fulfilling licensing requirements rather than long-term commitment to scholarship in a particular discipline.

Cross noted that in a study of women on twelve campuses, on the average half of the women expected to work either full or part-time for the major portion of their lives. She goes on to report, "Women from the more selective academically oriented colleges were more likely than women attending less selective institutions to express the expectation of working outside the home." (Cross, 1968, p. 10) Riesman writes about college women, "They work not for the sake of the work itself, or of rising to intellectual or financial heights, but rather for needed supplement to the family income and respite from isolation" (Riesman, 1956, p. 78). Work, then, has become an acceptable secondary pursuit for the college woman, but her primary identity remains with the sex role she has learned in this society. While a college man derives his primary identity from the occupational role for which he prepares himself, a woman's preoccupation is with what Brown suggests may be her "early commitment to narrow, perhaps false, images of femininity" (Brown, 1962). In a study of both high school and college men and women, Empey emphasized that eight of ten college women preferred marriage to a career, and two-thirds of both sexes studied saw a woman's primary duty to marriage and family. Similarly, women tended to aspire to those jobs which were traditionally feminine (Empey, 1958).

Evidence suggests that a college woman may report both a home commitment and at least some degree of career commitment, but should the latter threaten the former, it is likely to be rejected. Again from the Vassar Studies Freedman writes, "Marriage and commitment to a certain discipline or body of knowledge are often seen as mutually incompatible, and to the extent that marriage is seriously considered, a senior is likely to question the value or relevance to her future life of her current intellectual activities" (Freedman, 1956, pp. 26-27). From a study of college freshman women at the University of Minnesota, Hewer and Neubeck (1964) reported a reluctance on the part of the typical freshman woman to invest herself "heavily in long and rigorous intellectual and professional training" (Hewer and Neubeck, 1964, p. 591).

The tendency of college women to cling to the traditional feminine role was underscored by the Komarovsky study conducted in 1946-47. Forty percent of the women in that study admitted to accepting subordinate status in those activities (such as intellectual achievement) which they believed to be less feminine (Komarovsky, 1946). In a replication of this study by Wallin at Stanford University, 46 percent of the women studied indicated that they pretended inferior intellectuality when they were in male company. Wallin underscores the "pressure experienced by women students to assume a subordinate role to the male, although regarding themselves as equal or superior to him" (Wallin, 1949, p. 290).

Two decades after Komarovsky's research, Leland reported over forty percent of Stanford coeds responded to the same questions with similiar evidence of obscuring their intellectual abilities and inclinations. "Striking similarities in three studies with similar college populations, done over a span of 20 years suggest that attitudes toward women may not have shifted so much as to emancipate women from feelings of necessitated subordination to men, whatever the inherent capacities of either sex." (1966, p. 59).

Two additional studies, Heist's (1962), and that done by Siegel and Curtis (1963), reiterate the trends reported above. While a college woman may envision herself in some type of job, her primary commitment appears to center on the traditional feminine role of wife and mother. Further, her commitment to the feminine role tends to restrict her to a somewhat subordinate position in regard to traditional male achievements such as intellectuality and strong commitments to professional training.

Research which has focused upon attitudes toward the female sex role suggests that neither women nor men view the behaviors of women any more liberally because their participation in society is greater than that of their forebearers. Hewer and Neubeck summarize their findings for freshmen at the University of Minnesota,

> . . . the acceptable role for a married woman is to serve others, work to put her husband through school, to pay bills, to buy things for the family. The majority reject having married women work because they owe it to themselves to make use of their abilities or because the home provides inadequate opportunities for the expression of intellectual interests. (Hewer and Neubeck, 1964, p. 596)

When women are compared with men in attitudes toward the female sex, no clear-cut trends prevail. For example, in a study by Olesen (1961) men asked that the female role be defined more in traditional terms than did the women students queried. While women were inclined to accept both male and female norms for their own sex, men were quite clear in expecting women to be higher on such norms as passive control of situations, mature social behavior and self-control, but lower on such norms as outgoingness, and activity (Olesen, 1961).

The work of McKee and Sheriffs (1957) supported prior observations that college men and women tend to prefer males over females, a conclusion which might lead one to believe that women are more able to accept a traditional female role because they believe it epitomizes the inferior status of the female in this culture. Recent data dramatize such attitudes for a population which might be expected to respond in **opposite fashion. Fifty-five percent of a group of Stanford women and** 40% of those studied at Berkeley endorsed the following statement, "There was a time when I wished that I had been born a member of the opposite sex." Only one in seven men from the two population indicated agreement. The author suggests the complexities of such results pointing out the possible fear of endorsement men may feel as it relates to homosexuality, or less awareness of their own feelings, but nonetheless the date underscore ambivalent feelings about sexuality. (Katz, No Time for Youth, 1968, p. 51). Perhaps the typical ambivalence of women on the subject of the female role was indicated in a study of 147 women students done by Seward. The author reported that although the women students expressed a desire for equality in education, professional training and working conditions, "they tended to accept the traditional subordinate female role in the wife and mother relationships" (Seward, 1945, p. 184).

In a study designed to compare the viewpoints of daughters, mothers and fathers toward the female role, Steinmann indicated that fathers tended to see the average, ideal woman as possessing equal amounts of nurturing and achieving tendencies, with a slight leaning toward those pursuits which are considered in the nurturing role (Steinmann, 1958). Daughters and mothers, however, tended to view the ideal woman as possessing equal amounts of the nurturing and achieving dimensions. In a later study of 75 college women asked to make similar value judgments relating to women's activities and satisfactions, Steinmann and her colleagues call attention to the seeming intrapsychic conflict of the subjects who "feel that they can combine self-achievement with the roles of wife and mother. However the data also indicate that the women feel that men are either not interested in the self-realization and goals of the women in their lives or these men may even be in opposition to woman's needs." (Steinmann, 1964, p. 373).

Of particular relevance to this research are the reports of conflict experienced by college women, especially those in their senior or final year of undergraduate study. Freedman emphasizes that seniors often feel "tense, frustrated, and confused," as a result of the demands of college plus pressures from the external community, or their "afterlife." Freedman further suggests that an essential element of a woman's senior year is her preoccupation with her future role and identity--a preoccupation which often is characterized by "a sense of conflict between what (she) has been educated for and what awaits her" (Freedman, 1956, p. 26). He continues, "They seldom can define this conflict for themselves or elaborate its details, but it is present nevertheless, and it often contributes considerably to the perturbation and doubts of the senior year" (ibid., p. 26).

Sanford (1956), basing his observations on the studies done at Vassar, also calls attention to the relative instability and uncertainty of the college senior compared with the college freshman woman. Conflict between what she senses education has prepared her to do and what she perceives she should accept as her primary responsibility, that of being a wife and mother, produces a situation which Sanford describes in this manner:

> Forsaking their real selves, they seek immediate relief by going all out for some clear-cut but limited identity, overdoing their identity with the values of the college, or rejecting the college completely in favor of home and home community, or announcing determinedly for a high-level career, or most commonly, rushing into marriage with the thought that this will settle everything. (Sanford, 1956, p. 13)

Sources of cultural contradictions concerning the female role in this society have been elaborated earlier in this paper. The research literature quite forcefully underscores this contradiction. Characteristic of such studies were the interviews reported by Komarovsky. She writes, "The generalization emerging from these documents is the existence of serious contradictions between the two roles present in the environment of college women--the feminine vs. the modern role" (Komarovsky, 1946, p. 184). Even more specific, Motz performed an analysis of the roles of housewife and scientist in this culture in which she underscored the contradiction between the two commitments. For example, she suggested that the clear-cut, definite role expectation for the scientist is quite likely to be contradictory to the ambiquity with which a housewife is expected to perform her role (Motz, 1961). The notion of cultural contradictions for women in performing their roles has been emphasized in studies such as those done by Wallin and by Olesen (1949; 1961), and is a concept which appears frequently in the literature concerning women.

The factors which influence a college woman as she makes various choices for her future following college have been studied, but to a limited degree. Komarovsky and Wallin both reported, for example, that college women sensed some contradiction between what one or both of their parents expected of them. The data of Simpson and Simpson (1961) supported their hypothesis that career-oriented women are more influenced by role models embodying specific occupational values, i.e., teachers, professors and people in the intended occupation, and less by others with less specific occupational values, i.e., parents, relatives and peers. The researchers concluded, "The women who intend to pursue work careers through all or most of their lives have reached this decision because a rather special constellation of values and influences has been operative" (Simpson and Simpson, 1961, p. 383). Specifically, the results showed that women designated as "career women" in the study were far more influenced in choosing an occupation by the "nature of work tasks" as outlets for exercising their abilities than were the "non-career women." In addition, the "career women" were more likely than the "non-career women" to rank occupational models among the people who had most influenced their occupational choices, and less likely to accord high influence rank to relatives and peers (ibid., pp. 381-383).

Madison (1968) provides one of the few published case studies dealing with concerns and influences related to a women's career decisions. Utilizing questionnaire and intensive interview data collected during the undergraduate years, he details the context and influences surrounding educational and occupational decisions. Particularly notable for his subject are the strong influence of relations with parents, the importance of learning to accept her femininity, and her relationships with peers. Madison also implies the negative influence in decision-making of a lack of female role models on the college campus.

That men influence women seems an obvious notion, but the extent of their influence on certain decisions women make has not been a major focus of research about women. The importance of male influences has been discussed, albeit in somewhat general terms. For example, Brown discusses the Vassar alumnae characterized as "underachievers with future family orientation," in these terms,

> On the whole these women have arrived at what appears to be a healthy integration of feminine role and intellectual aspirations, at a mimimum of cost. The husbands have undoubtedly helped to make this possible by holding flexible notions concerning the place of married women in present-day upper middle class America. (Brown, 1956, p. 53)

The involvement of young men in the decisions of undergraduate women is presented as somewhat less influential by Freedman,

> Moreover, influence from other extra-college sources, including young men, is not great. Of course, the values and expectations regarding their future views which prevail among young men whom the student knows must be considered. The important fact is, however, that these are interpreted for her and often pressed upon her by her own female peer culture. (Freedman, 1956, p. 16)

In a study of occupational decision-making women students at two different colleges asserted the importance of fiancé, husband or boyfriend on their planning. Over one-third of the subjects accorded the influence of one male in marked contrast to the reported influence of either parents, female friends or college professors. (Leland, 1966, p. 44-45). Although the evidence of male involvement in female decision-making, especially when the woman is nearing college graduation, is neither substantial nor conclusive, previous references to the attitudes of men, and to the relationships between college men and women suggest directions for future research. Several studies at least imply that women attend closely to the opinions of men concerning a woman's "proper" role in this society, but this variable remains particularly difficult to measure accurately.

Steinmann reported a striking difference between girls' concepts of the ideal woman and what they believed the male's ideal woman would be. The college women studied considered "ideal" the woman who combined equal amounts of the nurturing and achieving elements in her role behavior. However, they thought men would expect an "ideal" woman to be more "traditional", i.e., to be more nurturing (Steinmann, 1958). The "marriage-minded" women of the study conducted by Christenson and Swihart were those girls who were already mated to a specific male, implying that their commitment to one male pledged them also to a particular role, i.e., that of homemaker (Christenson and Swihart, 1956).

References cited above attest to the interest of researchers in the decisions, characteristics, and concerns of college women. Reports also reflect the difficulties and complexities of research design and analysis. Finally, however selected the citations, the review suggests the common research approaches and recurring themes which have characterized research literature on this topic since the end of World War II.

3. THE IMPACT OF THE 1960s

Research cited above reflects a time span that includes the 1960s, but this decade merits additional comment. Some special occurrences appear to be shaping both a new interest in women students and some changing emphases in research. In particular, attention has turned more explicitly to adult women, as a result of their greater representation in the labor force and as a consequence of special programs for the continuing education of women.

In 1960 the University of Minnesota developed its "Minnesota Plan," a program designed to help women continue their education into their later adult years, and a blueprint for helping undergraduates recognize the necessity for long-range planning relative to marriage and work. At the same time Radcliffe College opened the Radcliffe Institute, an opportunity for women with special talents at an advanced level on the educational ladder, who needed aid in freeing themselves on a part-time basis from home responsibilities in order to pursue professional commitments developed earlier in their lives. Sarah Lawrence College in the same year invited mature women into its program, especially those women who had begun but never completed college degrees, and the college provided individualized counseling and academic programs to meet their special needs. These three programs have constituted inspiration, impetus, and frequently models for a variety of programs for adult women sponsored by colleges and universities across the country.

Development of such programs inevitably produced increased concerns for educating not only the adults but also women in the typical college-age cohort. One characteristic of the 1960s appears to be a shift in emphasis to adult women with a consequent retrospective analysis of women's education in their earlier years.

In this climate of interest in adult women, several research studies evolved or are in process. The emergence of special programs, the Radcliffe Institute for example, encourages research since they can provide a center for collecting and analyzing data specifically about women. A number of these programs have research studies available or soon to be published.

Three studies of adult women appearing since 1960 illustrate a new focus in research about women at the same time they exemplify some familiar problems and approaches to design and analysis mentioned earlier. None of these evolves from a special women's program, but each attests to the greater concern for women beyond the typical college-age cohort.

In 1964 Ginzberg reported that the primary concern of his study of women graduate fellowship holders at Columbia was, "...with delineating the changing role of work in the lives of these women against the background of their major interests and commitments." (1964, p. 18). His study reflects a tendency emphasized earlier, focusing attention on the characteristics and behaviors of highly able or talented college women.

By means of a structured questionnaire Ginzberg and his associates described the relationships among various role requirements of their subjects and delineated those factors which seemed to support their decisions and actions. Family influence, particularly the strongly supportive attitudes of parents toward their daughters' education and career plans, led the researchers to observe, "...(the) type of education that young people receive and the kind of person they marry is conditioned to a marked degree by the families from which they come." (Ibid., p. 20). While emphasizing, perhaps with undue optimism, what appeared as a wide range of options for his subjects, Ginzberg sighted also the constraints which appeared to affect their decisions. Obligations to parents, husband's occupation, children, work patterns, community attitudes and earlier decisions in their lives constituted such constraining elements. Despite major attention to marriage and family life, only a minority of the women evidenced complete satisfaction in those pursuits, and the majority pursued some other career interest than the home. Three-fourths of the women indicated satisfaction with their present circumstances, leading the authors to comment that the study provided little evidence that, "...most educated women are trapped in situations which create frustrations and disappointment..." (Ibid., p. 143). Finally, the report characterized the Columbia group as "high self-determined," expecting a high order of freedom and self-determination for selves and other women. Ginzberg suggests that the group is the vanguard of growing ranks of highly educated women who will characterize our society in the future.

A later paper by Rossi (1967) elaborated with less optimism than the above report, the roots of ambivalence in women toward family and work roles. Again a female college-graduate population, expressed attitudes and reported behaviors after three years of post-college experiences. The analysis sought to differentiate between both women who had no plans to seek degrees beyond the bachelor's and those aspiring to doctoral or professional degrees, and women in "masculine" and "feminine" fields. Rossi reports,

> At every point the data permitted an exploration, there was a negative relationship between high salience of the career role and high salience of family roles. The higher the degree, or the more masculine the field, the less likely the women are to report enjoyment of domestic activities, the less likely they are to anticipate that child-care, contact with parents or husbands' parents or homemaking tasks, will be important in the future.
>
> (Rossi, 1967, p. 9)

Analysis of the 15,000 responses, part of the NORC study of college graduates in 1961, led Rossi to observe that "high career salience" begins at least as early as late puberty and for such girls adolescence tends to involve restricted dating plus increasing emphasis upon intellectual interests. (Ibid., p. 11). In characterizing the group of career women whom she identified from questionnaire responses Rossi states, "...the young women graduates who have serious career plans emerge as rather unconventional, agnostic, relatively impersonal and undomestic creatures." (Ibid., p. 14). Given the lengthy and complicated process by which career interests are developed, the author suggests that there are no short-run formulas for increasing the proportion of women who seek advanced degrees.

Astin's soon to be published study based primarily upon questionnaire responses from 75% of the women granted doctorates in 1957-58, provides information beginning with the high school years and continuing seven or eight years after the doctorate. Like Ginzberg and Rossi, Astin emphasizes that such highly educated women tend to come from upper-middle class parents who themselves typically hold business or professional positions and represent the highly educated of our population. Also, Astin underscores the women's interest in and enjoyment of "learning and other scholarly endeavors." (Chapter 10.)

Ninety-one per cent of the women doc'orates from 1957-58 were employed at the time of the study, the majority in academic institutions. Eight-one percent worked full-time, with the average interruption in full-time professional employment, for having children, fourteen months. Finding household help ranked as the women's greatest obstacle to career development.

Astin lists three factors which appeared to influence these highly able women in their educational and career development:

(1) the strong influence of parents both in encouragement and expectations;

(2) the women's respect for scholarship and excellence;

(3) high self-esteem, in particular a belief in their own intellectual and creative competencies.

(*Ibid*., Chapter 10.)

Among her recommendations Astin includes the necessity to explore and analyze further the parental influence which appears emphatically in her data and corroborates the findings of other researchers as quoted above.

By no means do the three studies singled out constitute the only major studies of women reported or conducted in the 1960s. In this decade, for example, Newcomb (1968) and his associates contributed a reassessment of the women in his original study of attitudes at Bennington College. Similarly, the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor resurveyed over 5000 women graduates in the Class of 1957 in order to expose the interrelationships in their lives of such factors as their undergraduate education, postgraduate specializations, family and community activities and work careers. One quotation from the latter study reflects the motivation for much of the current research interest in adult women:

> ...many of the women revealed that they were paying increased attention to fashioning a dynamic life pattern, thinking ahead to the time when their current responsibilities would lessen and they would be seeking a new assortment of meaningful activities.
>
> (Women's Bureau, 1966, p. 19-20.)

While researchers paid particular attention to adult women in the 1960s, some other investigations relate to the concerns of this essay. Studies of college students, as mentioned earlier, bear directly on the subject under discussion here. For in recent studies, specifically those of Astin (1968), Davis (1965), and Katz (1968), differential analysis of data for men and women students reveal important distinctions between them, which in turn appear to be leading into new research endeavors. In the study by Katz and his associates, for example, the writers underscore the uncertainties surrounding occupational choice at the end of college, but emphasize the special plight of female students for whom the collegiate experience is essentially terminal. In this study, as in others, women students reveal themselves to be more emphathetic and understanding, to be more willing to consider psychological factors, in fact to display a greater psychological-mindedness, and to advance more quickly toward maturation than their male cohorts. Yet, while these characteristics, and other signs of autonomy appear to be supported in women during their college years, the authors point out that at graduation the cultural press is for women to assume a marital role, and women make such a switch. Later research conducted by Katz, Korn, Leland, and Levin (1968), continues to call attention to differences in post-college life-styles of women and men, urging that the divergence in life-styles necessitates some differences in college preparation for men and women.

Perhaps most significant for future research about women, Katz dramatizes the special complexities women experience in decision-making, and consequent need for refined analysis of research data. Further, data reported by Katz suggest that the familiar "marriage versus career" dichotomy may be a false one:

> ...(the data) suggest that occupation will become more attractive to women once they can more fully satisfy strivings for psychological welfare... Moreover occupations may also become more attractive to women if they can more fully satisfy the desire for variety of activities and stimulations. Many women find that the life of the housewife allows for the pursuit of more varied interests than the occupational world.
>
> (Katz, 1968, p. 106.)

One further development of this decade may contribute to a growing research focus on women. The College Research Center, headquartered at Vassar College, represents the efforts of almost a dozen women's colleges to collect and analyze data which relate to their students and the educational programs. In one research report, Wilson (1967) points out that in assessing plans for graduate school and career development the colleges hope, "...to introduce educational procedures designed to help young women deal more effectively with problems of career development and career planning." (1967, p. 1.) Despite its relative newness, the College Research Center should be counted as one of the positive elements in women's education in the 1960s. It demonstrates, at least initially, the willingness of the women's colleges to take responsibility for research about their students and perhaps to use such research in reassessing their curricula.

New attention to adult women, increasing research concerning college students, and formalized attempts to cooperate in action research related to women students, all suggest that the current decade offers new possibilities for this research subject. It is well to caution, however, that despite optimistic signs, many previous trends have continued, and the milieu within which research is accomplished has not changed all that much. Researchers continue to dichotomize the female population, and especially, to dwell upon the marriage - career duality despite its repetitive obviousness; women continue to enter the same fields of study, avoiding the professions and areas such as science and engineering in which demands for their talents grow; investigations repeat both questions and recommendations which appeared in the 1940s and 50s. The possibility and danger that research designed to illuminate and perhaps to improve the special conditions of a woman's life could "lock in" as a vague, repetitious and relatively unproductive endeavor persists in this latter half of the 1960s.

4. POSSIBILITIES FOR THE FUTURE AND AN INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER II.

The purpose of this essay has been to pull together some research literature related to women, especially their educational and occupational situations. An overview emphasizes the general trends, patterns and recommendations available to those people who have concerns about how women should be educated, supported in their aspirations, or counseled so as to best realize their potentials.

A growing research literature suggests that in varying degrees women experience social pressures, sense family expectations, respond to academic stimuli, anticipate roles as wives, mothers or workers, and seek an identity which they can call their own. To a large extent, and sometimes repetitiously, investigations have made the phenomenology of decision-making quite clear for groups of women. In general, data reveal expected and continuing trends toward marriage, children, maintaining femininity by entering traditional "feminine" fields, concern for service to society, and a broad scope of interests.

Despite the value of knowing such general trends and patterns, certainly the problem of sorting out dimensions and elements of the special educational and occupational situations of women has not been resolved adequately. While data from large populations have proved beneficial for group description, research could contribute far more to understanding both individual and group behaviors. In fact, researchers themselves tend to dramatize the need for cautious review of their results since they most frequently apply to large groups of women. These observations suggest that not only should research about women continue, but also that research workers should forge new designs and techniques that may further knowledge, and when warranted, lead to some tangible improvements in the education of women.

Hopefully the increasing concerns of research workers expressed in the above review reflects the necessary impetus for continuing research in this area, and perhaps for experimenting on the basis of data already collected and analyzed. Certain societal elements support and perhaps necessitate new investigations. Women's lives continue to change as a result of phenomena such as the contraceptive pill, increased longevity, and entrance into a space-age technology. Greater sophistication in research design and implementation enables investigators to provide more detailed analysis and refinement in data collection and reporting. Restless, but frequently constructive college students demand attention to the relevance of educational preparation to the realities of their life plans. Movements to reduce and perhaps end segregated education for men and women may offer new reasons for delineating both common and diverse elements needed in the adequate education of either sex. Research studies need to reflect the changes in society, differences in educational and social backgrounds (now largely ignored by research reported above), and shifts in generations. Without negating their value it seems important to warn that the earlier studies at schools such as Vassar, or Bennington cannot remain the only bases from which educational programs for women develop. Research projects which reveal only projected or anticipated behaviors, e.g. what decisions women think they will make, or what they believe will be important to them in the future, cannot provide accurate, relatively secure foundation for making institutional changes. Studies which tend to oversimplify realities and to obscure complexities cannot ensure adequate attention to individual problems of wasted potential or the potential damage of limited self-esteem or unawareness of opportunities for self-realization.

The review and commentary of this essay should provide a fitting introduction to the substance of this report, for the work to be presented may represent some of the new direction and refinement called for above. Autonomy and Feminine Role resembles previous studies since the subjects were able, college women, and the design can best be classified as exploratory and descriptive, not experimental. But the Lozoff study differs from earlier research endeavors in some potentially significant ways. In essence the study attempts to order students on a continuum of autonomy, creating a typology which breaks from the well-worn marriage-career framework. Secondly, by providing analysis of interview material collected over a four-year period the report introduces both the vitality and reality into an assessment which are not usually possible simply from questionnaire responses. The use of interview protocols, in addition to questionnaire and test data, allows the author to ascertain whether the suggested typology has even tentative validity and to provide some descriptive evidence about the complications which enter into the educational and occupational decisions college women make. Though this research cannot be represented as conclusive, the possibilities for further investigation, combining analysis of data with experimental intervention, clearly reveal themselves. Though researchers frequently acknowledge the danger of oversimplifying the special situation of women, the report which follows arrests any such tendency, because it presents in detail the complications which educators must face if they wish to address themselves genuinely to the appropriate education of women, and of men as well.

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Chapter II

AUTONOMY AND FEMININE ROLE

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Analysis of material obtained over four years of interviewing students at Stanford and Berkeley impressed us that societal pressure on men and women of comparable intelligence and personality apparently made them feel differently about involving themselves wholly in developing their competencies and intellectual-career interests.[1] Pressures on the men to be "manly" and to succeed seemed to contrast with messages to the girls to be "womanly" and constrained. Parents, other adults and peers appeared to agree that intelligent, energetic young men were behaving in an approved fashion when they involved themselves wholeheartedly in acquiring knowledge and skills. The response of meaningful people in the lives of women students was more ambivalent. A deep-seated interest or commitment to a special field on the part of the girls was sometimes viewed by others as compensatory for lack of femininity or a sign of misdirected enthusiasm.

Although the purpose of this report is not to prove the existence of differences in cultural pressures for men and women students, we would like to speculate for a moment about the possible reason for such pressures, assuming that they do exist. It seems possible that there is a fear that the family as an institution might suffer if young women feel free to engage in the challenge of testing their non-domestic competencies. Implied in this fear may be the assumption that familial stability requires the total involvement of at least one adult. Suggested also is the possibility that if a young woman tasted the excitement of realizing her own potential, she would be less inclined to provide nurturance and stimulation for her husband and children. On the other hand, the university as an institution is dedicated to the optimum development of intellectual and creative human resources. The young women in this study were among the most able students in our nation and as high school students had been highly motivated. During their college years, they experienced varying amounts of conflict as to the appropriateness of whole-hearted involvement in educational and career pursuits.

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[1] Katz, Joseph, and Associates. No Time for Youth. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1968. This is a four year study of student development at Stanford and the University of California at Berkeley. It included eight interviews apiece with about 250 students, following them from entrance to graduation. It also included tests and questionnaires obtained from about 3000 members of the class of 1965. The Student Development Study was not specifically designed to inform us about the developmental conflicts of able women or to evaluate how concepts of femininity affect career decisions. However, it has provided a wealth of material suggesting further research in this area. The Senior Questionnaire Table in the Appendix, derived from this study, indicates a variety of attitudes and interests wherein the Berkeley and Stanford women appear to have more in common than students of both sexes in the same university.

One of the dilemmas of the years between 17 and 21 for many women students accompanied their perception that this was the time for attracting a husband and also for setting the foundation for intellectual and career aspirations. The juxtaposition of both interests occurring simultaneously and the limited amount of time and energy available to the students lead them to devote much thought and affect to questions of appropriate feminine behavior. Many college women had a simplistic view of their futures--dwelling with eager anticipation on the excitement of early matrimony and child-rearing and disregarding their perceptions that the lives of their middle-aged mothers often seemed full of self-denial and lack of challenge. Most students were not committed to establishing foundations for a lifetime career although they hoped to avoid the "rut of a married woman" with its perceived threat of loss of individuality.

Subgroups Describing Differences in Motivation and Behavior of Able College Women

In order to obtain some knowledge of and suggestions for further research into the intellectual and marital motivations of able college women, the protocols of all Stanford women interviewees (N=49) were analysed in an attempt to describe some of the personality and background factors influencing their career development and perception of feminine role. It seemed that parents, friends and teachers subtly or overtly encouraged young women to follow the traditional path of being nurturer of others and the mainstay of the home. However, parental influences, self-evaluations and behavior differed among the students we studied. Describing these differences will be the main purpose of this paper.

We divided our interviewees into groups on the basis of the clinical judgment of several of the senior research associates of *Growth and Constraint in College Students* and *No Time for Youth*.[2] A major variable used in constituting groups was autonomy. It was defined as assumption of personal responsibility for self-definition and self-development. Although there was unanimity among the women in our sample that family life was a desirable goal, there was discernible variation within the sample concerning willingness to subordinate individuality to sex roles. At one extreme of the continuum were students who strongly perceived themselves as individuals although they also anticipated adapting to the role of wife and mother. During college they were absorbed with the task of vigorous self-definition and self-development. These students will be referred to in this paper as Autonomous.

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[2] Katz, Joseph, Ph.D., Editor. *Growth and Constraint in College Students*. Stanford University, 1967. Final report of research supported by grants from the Office of Health, Education and Welfare and the Danforth Foundation.

At the other extreme were the Least Autonomous who perceived themselves primarily as potential wives and mothers, often leaving the clarification of their "identities" to the specifications of future husbands. These students defined themselves less as individuals and more in terms of perceived societal expectations of marital role. During college, they seemed to be more concerned with acquisition of skills than self-understanding. Between the two groups was a third subgroup, designated as Moderately Autonomous, which included students whose movement toward self-understanding proceeded at a slower pace than was true of the Autonomous. However, during four years of college this self-understanding took on an ever-increasing degree of significance for them.

Autonomous students were eager for adventure and determined to use their judgment and strength in making personal decisions. They welcomed opportunities to explore values and relationships which differed form earlier experiences. They were not as influenced by societal pressures as by their own attempts at rational conclusions and observations. A questionnaire given to seniors, to be discussed in more detail later, indicated several significant ways in which girls in the Autonomous groups differed form others in our sample.[3] Briefly, the Autonomous disagreed more frequently with parents and other adults, were less religious, more frequently engaged in creative activities and more frequently planned graduate school training.

They were vigorous, intense and often involved in conflict and indecision. The degree of conflict involved suggested two distinct subgroups. The Autonomous-Developers appeared to have sufficient friction in their lives to stimulate growth and development but usually were not overwhelmed by conflict. Environmental and personal resources were available for bolstering their self-esteem at times of error. Thus it was often easier for them to retreat and start afresh than was true of the Autonomous-Conflicted. This group included girls whose efforts to utilize their energies for self-development apparently were impeded by family problems or exhausting intra-psychic conflicts.

The other two groups included students who were less concerned with autonomy. Involvement with opinions and individuals widely divergent from their home values was avoided or only cautiously attempted. Some of these students encountered intellectual and socio-political ideas in the college environment which the more Autonomous had been aware of prior to matriculation. Compared to the Autonomous students, the pace of the Moderately Autonomous was slower and more cautious. Their growth and development often was accompanied by painful insights and experimentation with unfamiliar ways of adapting. However, over the four years, they grew more aware of themselves as individuals as well as somewhat more confident in their relationships with men. Not infrequently, their career aspirations expanded to include graduate education.

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[3] See Table 2, page 82, and Table 3, page 85.

The Least Autonomous students, although academically competent, were strongly oriented toward a domestic-maternal pattern and viewed their college experience primarily as an opportunity to meet an appropriate man and swiftly move from parental home to a similar home of their own. They were more interested in jobs than careers; in skills rather than in intellectual matters; in the role of wife-mother rather than masculine companionship *per se* or the exploration of their own individuality. They seemed to view the university as a place where they could receive occupational training as an insurance policy and knowledge as an appropriate asset for wives of intelligent and educated men.

A brief word of caution is called for. We are not attempting to set up a definitive typology of able college women. This would be premature as we are dealing with a small sample and have asked questions about feminine development of research data obtained for another purpose. However, the interview and questionnaire material about personality development during college contained detailed information about women students. The fact that there are significant statistical differences between groups encourages us in our hopes that the material to follow will prove of value in providing meaningful clues for future studies of able college women.

TEST DIFFERENCES AMONG AUTONOMOUS SUBGROUPS

After dividing the students into groups on the basis of clinical evaluation of protocols of taped interviews, other material was available to test the validity of our evaluations. Six scales of the Omnibus Personality Inventory and the F and E scales had been administered in 1961 and again in 1965, and a 19-page Senior Questionnaire, describing interests, values and activities, was answered by the students in 1965 and will be discussed later. In addition, material had been obtained from friends of the students about their perceptions of change in personality, behavior and values during college.

Autonomy Groups and Scholastic Aptitude Tests

Differences in mean Scholastic Aptitude Test scores for the four basic groups were slight but may suggest justification for further inquiry. In opposition to what is found to hold true for college women in general, the Autonomous-Developers have higher mathematical than verbal scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Test. For the Moderately Autonomous the math and verbal means were almost identical. The other two groups showed marked differences between the two scores, the verbal score being higher than the mathematical.[4] The test scores indicate that although all of the women in our sample test high on their Scholastic Aptitude Tests, the Autonomous-Developers and Autonomous-Conflicted score higher than those in the other two groups, and that autonomy and mathematical aptitude have parallel linear descent.

Autonomy Groups and the Social Maturity Scale of the Omnibus Personality Inventory

Although most of the scales of the Omnibus Personality Inventory showed statistical differences among the four subgroups we would like to call special attention to three of the scales.[5] The most important scale, for the purpose of this paper, is the Social Maturity Scale. The following description from the OPI manual appears directly related to autonomy:

> "High scorers are not authoritarian and they are flexible, tolerant, and realistic in their thinking. They are not dependent on authority, rules, or rituals for managing social relationships. In general, they are impunitive, although capable of expression directly when it is appropriate. High scorers are also frequently interested in aesthetic pursuits."

We were able to obtain test scores in 1961 and 1965 for 34 women interviewees. (An additional ten had taken the test in 1961, but these same girls had not been re-tested in 1965.) Although the number is small, the test score differences are in harmony with clinical evaluations. The Autonomous-Developers, many of whom came from homes where they had been treated with respect for their individuality, had scored high on the Social Maturity Test upon entrance, and they retained this level of response. Although the Autonomous-Conflicted girls had been

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[4] Mean 1961 SAT Scores for Four Autonomy Groups

	Autonomous-Developer (N=7)	Autonomous-Conflicted (N=14)	Moderately Autonomous (N=11)	Least Autonomous (N=15)
Verbal SAT	658	691	622	643
Math SAT	672	651	623	589

[5] See Table 1, page 34.

high upon entrance, the vicissitudes of external and internal problems appeared to force some of them toward a more authoritarian or less intellectual-aesthetic attitude. Although the *Moderately Autonomous* and the *Least Autonomous* groups were rarely if ever represented among the "Highs," it is interesting to note that more of the *Moderately Autonomous* moved from the low category to the medium category than did the *Least Autonomous* where the reverse was true.

Impulse Expression and Authoritarianism

Over the four years, the Impulse Expression Scale indicated high but lessened impulse expression on the part of the *Autonomous-Developers*; retention of a very high impulsive pattern for the *Autonomous-Conflicted* and a gradual loosening of constraint and movement toward greater impulse expression on the part of the less autonomous subgroups.

A third scale is included in Table 1 concerning authoritarianism. A high F score indicates a general disposition to respond to the world with a stereotyped conception of the importance of all authority. Authoritarianism involves rigid ingroup-outgroup distinctions, stereotypical imagery, dogmatism, intolerance of ambiguity, and denial of certain needs such as dependence, weakness and often sexual urges. On this scale greater differences existed between the autonomy groups upon matriculation than as seniors. The *Autonomous-Developers* had been low in authoritarianism at matriculation but not as low as the *Autonomous-Conflicted* girls. The latter became higher in authoritarianism during their college years and one can only speculate that the lack of appropriate identification figures, burdensome environmental pressures, intra-psychic conflicts and excessive impulsiveness may have forced them to retreat toward a more authoritarian position. Another possibility is that finding worthy authority figures at the university enabled them to experience greater trust of authority figures. Variations in distribution of scores on other scales of the Omnibus Personality Inventory are indicated below.[6]

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[6] Percentages within each Autonomy Group Scoring High on Other OPI Scales

	Aut.-Dev. (N=7)		Aut.-Confl. (N=7)		Mod.Aut. (N=11)		Least Aut. (N=9)		Differences*	
OPI Scale	1961	1965	1961	1965	1961	1965	1961	1965	1961	1965
Ethnocentricism	14	0	14	0	27	27	56	56	NS	.03
Developmental Status	57	36	57	71	36	36	0	0	.06	.00
Estheticism	86	86	57	57	9	36	22	11	.01	.08
Masculinity-Femininity	86	29	57	71	36	36	22	22	NS	NS
Schizoid Functioning	43	57	86	57	27	46	0	11	.03	NS

*Significance levels for differences between groups are based on chi-square tests.

Table No. 1

FOUR AUTONOMY GROUPS: 1961 and 1965
Scores on Three Scales of the Omnibus Personality Inventory Scale[a]
(Figures are percentages)

A. Social Maturity Scale	High		Medium		Low	
	1961	1965	1961	1965	1961	1965
Aut.-Dev. (N=7)	86	86	14	0	0	14
Aut.-Confl. (N=7)	71	43	29	57	0	0
Mod. Aut. (N=11)	0	9	64	82	36	9
Least Aut. (N=9)	0	0	44	22	56	78

Differences between the four groups on the Social Maturity Scale are significant beyond the .001 level for both 1961 and 1965 by chi-square test (1961: X^2=25.8, df=6; 1965: X^2=32.5, df=6)

B. Impulse Expression Scale						
Aut.-Dev. (N=7)	57	43	14	43	29	14
Aut.-Confl. (N=7)	87	87	0	14	14	0
Mod. Aut. (N=11)	36	36	36	55	21	9
Least Aut. (N=9)	0	22	44	11	56	67

Differences between the four groups on the Impulse Expression Scale are significant at the .03 level for 1961 and beyond the .01 level for 1965 (1961: X^2=13.6, df=6; 1965: X^2=17.7, df=6)

C. Authoritarianism (F) Scale						
Aut.-Dev. (N=7)	0	0	43	43	57	57
Aut.-Confl. (N=7)	29	14	0	57	71	29
Mod. Aut. (N=11)	46	36	46	46	9	18
Least Aut. (N=9)	89	67	11	22	0	11

Differences between the four groups on the Authoritarianism Scale are significant beyond the .001 level for 1961 and the .08 level for 1965 (1961: X^2=29.4, df=6; 1965: X^2=26.5, df=6)

[a] A slightly larger sample of students we interviewed took the OPI test in 1961 and not in 1965. Of the 44 girls tested, the Social Maturity Scale differed in the same direction with a chance happening of one in a thousand.

(High scores: Autonomous-Developers (N=7) 86%; Autonomous-Conflicted (N=13) 69%; Moderately Autonomous (N=11) 0%; Least Autonomous (N=13) 0%. Low Scores: Autonomous-Developers 0%; Autonomous-Conflicted 7%; Moderately Autonomous 36%; Least Autonomous 54%.)

We digress for a moment to suggest that the Social Maturity Scale of the Omnibus Personality Inventory plus pertinent background information would make it possible to differentiate meaningful groups of women students during their freshman year. This would allow us to introduce experimentation and educational intervention early in the college careers of girls. The goals of such intervention could be to assist them in appropriate evaluation of their intellectual and personal potentialities and to enable them to feel free to plan lives that could be both intellectually challenging and emotionally rewarding. What is important here is not so much the fitting of all able women into an intellectual-artistic-professional mold but rather the removal of the restrictions which students may feel in regard to testing their competencies. Ideally, the women would feel free to develop capacities and interests according to their growing sense of self rather than feel limited by having been born female.[7] It has been our observation that a stereotypic concept of femininity has had a constraining and conflictual effect on many of the women students we interviewed.

INDIVIDUALITY AND FEMININE ROLE

The interview protocols offered innumerable clues as to why the girls felt more or less free to develop as individuals and how they reconciled such decisions with their emerging definitions of appropriate feminine behavior and family obligations. In summarizing these data, I shall place special emphasis on the importance of perceived parental expectations and the relationship of these girls with their parents. The data indicated that although direct parental influence was minimal during college, the impact of the attitude of the girls toward their parents and their identification with them were crucial factors in determining life plans. Secondary but important was the influence of male and female friends, and this the author plans to deal with in a further study. Last, and often in a diffused way, the content of courses and impact of professors sometimes served as stimuli for re-evaluation of occupational and intellectual choices and occasionally as a decisive catalytic agent.

Although the students appeared to struggle to be as rational and wise as possible, occupational decisions and sex-role definitions frequently were not arrived at in an objective, cognitive fashion. Conflicting social pressures, exigencies of the developmental stage in which the students found themselves and the pressures involved in separation from the parental home introduced unconscious as well as conscious motivations and urgencies.

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[7] Some indication of feeling disadvantaged because of sex is suggested in the differences in affirmative responses between males and females to the following question in No Time for Youth (P. 51): "There was a time when I wished that I had been born a member of the opposite sex."

Stanford Men (N=185)	Stanford Women (N=148)	Berkeley Men (N=286)	Berkeley Women (N=265)
12%	55%	15%	40%

THE AUTONOMOUS-DEVELOPERS (N=7)

The Autonomous-Developers were more interested in long-term and permanent opportunities for growth and development than they were in career achievements. They were more interested in rewarding companionship with an equally developing and enthusiastic man than they were in the status of wife and anticipation of motherhood. This does not mean that they did not expect to have children or expect to be conscientious in their mothering, but this was a privilege for which they feared they might have to pay a price in renunciation of strong personal interests and inclinations as indicated by the following comments:

A Psychology major:

> "I'd like to stay in a good deal of contact with the outside world even when I'm married. I don't care about a career, money-making or getting higher and higher or something like that. I like staying around people with lots of different interests and just growing and learning. I'd also like to have kids. But being a mother is different than being a housewife. I think there's a big distinction. I don't think that vacuuming and dusting contribute to happiness except that I think a mother should teach her kids how. I would like to work at a University and pay someone else to do the housework. When the kids can think at all--the difference is terrific if the mother spent her time vacuuming--I don't think you realize that until it is too late."

A Humanities major:

> "My main aspiration is to have a purpose in life--marriage, yes, but something that will last--will go through marriage--strengthen that too--the ability to decide on the right thing and follow through... I'm driven in two different directions in what I think is important--arts and social concern. Part of the time I think that what I want to do most in life is to be creative and intelligent and do something that I think is worthwhile in scholarship. I want to go on to graduate school rather than just raise a family. John and I plan to do these things together. (Both were scholarship students and this girl was quite depleted by her combination of intense personal relationships, academic demands and outside jobs.) Ten years from now I hope that my husband and I will be learning, growing intellectually, still interested in ideas with enough money so we can do this. I want to have several children but this doesn't enter into my immediate plans."

The fate which most of them wanted to avoid was the possibility of marriage to an "Organization Man" with a home in the suburbs, membership in a local country club and frequent attendance at cocktail parties and large social groups where they felt meaningful interchange between people was minimal. What they dreaded most about homemaking was the possible stifling of opportunities for furthering special interests. Some of the women students wanted to improve political and social conditions and others hoped to realize artistic talents. It was interesting to note, in the case of several of these girls, the existence of a "crisis" when they seriously thought of themselves as potential wives. At first, this appeared to require them to extinguish their individuality as well as their right to test competencies. One girl vividly described her feelings during that period when loss of self seemed to be the price asked for love and affection:

> "I was in a rut like a married woman. The thing that depresses me most about married women is that they are not individuals. And I really wasn't. Everything I did was geared around Bob's convenience. The time, things like that. And I had gotten so that I didn't enjoy myself spending much time with my friends--I was satisfied to be with Bob and it was really that I had gotten to be in a shell. I wasn't a person anymore."

Marriage at first seemed to offer only vicarious gratification in assisting a man to realize his ambitions. This perception usually was accompanied by weeks or months of depression for the woman involved. If the student was able to tolerate this period of depression, rather than fleeing from her introspection, she usually arrived at a sobering but less depressing compromise solution to her perceived dilemma.

> "When I first came to Stanford, I wanted to be a Senator, and on the surface, my ambitions now are a lot lower. I am much more realistic. Somehow I don't think of my role in the world as being anything particularly outstanding. I think now that you can just aim at increasing your understanding, be a constantly growing person in your own tiny little capacity. So as I said, on the surface, I think my aims now seem to have dropped, but I don't really think they have. Now I equate success with productivity and happiness; productivity in doing whatever you do well and having something that is constantly new so that you never get to the end or lose interest in it.
>
> "In high school I used to have to constantly prove to people how intelligent I was. Now somehow this isn't really important. The only thing my intelligence really means to me is that I can always be interested in something. It doesn't matter to me to make a display. I'm much less aggressive.

> I used to think it was really good for a woman to strive to do things men can do. And I think that this is true--that a woman should use her intelligence to her fullest, but I don't think our society has gotten to the point where men or even a lot of women would have confidence in the political decisions that a woman makes. I think one has to be shrewd and I don't think a woman would be happy making such hard-line compromises."

The comments of this student indicated that she no longer needed to "prove to people," "to be outstanding," and "to make a display." This could be interpreted as a renunciation of ambition on the part of a very able young woman or it could be her modification of ambition to accommodate the intrinsically gratifying alternative of combining personal interests with marital responsibilities.

Several girls commented that ambitious professional aspirations required more talent and effort for women than appeared necessary for equally motivated men because of a variety of prejudices against women and the absence of assistance men often received from their wives. This perception added to reluctance to compete actively against men, realization that freedom of mobility might be limited by marriage and determination to be competent wives and mothers led them to think realistically about compromise solutions. They lowered their aspirations to create life plans which would permit some gratifications of an intellectual or career nature at the same time that marriage and motherhood could be attempted. Often a profession was chosen if it provided for flexibility as well as suitability to the girl's talents. Former interests were not renounced but modified so that they would be adapted to the life plan of a prospective husband or children (in fact or theory).

The Autonomous-Developers were determined to complete college and graduate training. At college entrance fewer desired early marriage than was true of girls in the other groups. However, by graduation most of them were engaged or married. Apparently, their dedication to special interests--mostly of a lively and demanding nature--threw them in contact with energetic men whose lives they could join without sacrificing their own inclinations.

Most of these girls had been tomboys in their childhood--their energy, intelligence and active natures led them to prefer the companionship and vigorous, exploratory activities of groups of boys to the more contained and to them, more frivolous activities of groups of girls. In several instances, movment toward acceptance of a feminine self-concept which allowed for an active life and did not involve stifling individuality was made possible only through close communication and emotional involvement with a woman friend. One of the unfortunate factors in the development of these girls was a limited variety of useful adult feminine figures with whom they could identify. Their mothers for the most part, appeared to them to have sacrificed potentialities for personal development although they were perceived as enjoying the vicarious status and warm regard of successful husbands.

In one instance, a girl was influenced in choosing a life of international service by the idealism of her paternal grandmother. Her parents preferred a conventional domestic orientation for her. With her grandmother to bolster her interest in world betterment, her reconciliation to marriage was made possible by a warm, close relationship with a husband-wife professorial pair whose shared personal and professional interests exemplified for her that capable women could enjoy both marriage and intellectual growth and realization. Although determined when she entered college not to marry until close to thirty, her fortuitous meeting with a slightly older man, established in the field of international service led to an early marriage. Her marriage delighted her with its potential for combining intellectual and service interests with marital love and status. Prior to this encounter, she had planned to devote several of her "best years" to the work that fascinated her and then to renounce wholly her career interests and turn her involvement to being a wife and mother. With a self-confidence typical of the Autonomous-Developers she had no concern that she would have difficulty in "choosing" to marry at a later age.

Occupational Interests

What were the occupational and intellectual interests of these students? Three of the seven were primarily involved in the fine arts and were interested in becoming artists or university professors. Two were interested in international service and two in the field of clinical psychology and research. The status of wifehood and motherhood did not appeal to these girls as much as love and companionship; nor did a job *per se* attract them so much as the challenge of testing their intellectual and service-giving resources and their participation in helping others to grow.

Relationships with Parents and Other Adults

Most of the Autonomous-Developers had dynamic and successful fathers who married admiring, supportive and lovely-looking wives. In several instances, the daughters were dainty and feminine in appearance at the same time that they were vigorous and brilliant. Such combinations presented some of the Autonomous-Developers and their environments with interesting dilemmas. Identification with the fathers threatened the feminine self-concept of these girls, but identification with the mothers seemed to demand renunciation of valued traits and capacities. Young men admired the appearance and vitality of the girls but often were perplexed by their maturity, drive and talent. The competitive and demanding atmosphere of the academic world seemed to challenge the sense of competence of these students but allowed little opportunity for them to clarify their sex-role aspirations.

Intense Involvement with Fathers

Of all groups, the Autonomous-Developers included the largest percentage who described themselves as emotionally similar to their fathers.[8] Such self-evaluation implied closeness and preoccupation with the fathers. The majority of the students felt they and their fathers shared the following qualities: vigor, outspokenness, stubbornness and the ability to rationally understand behavior and make intelligent plans. The girls avoided false modesty about their capacities and gave an impression of self-confidence. Their eagerness to work out their own life plans and their deep emotional involvement with their fathers made them hypersensitive to paternal possessiveness or domination. The fathers, in turn, were described by their daughters as deeply involved with them and as encouraging them to be ambitious. The student Jane commented:

> "My father, with whom I identify strongly, had this idea that I would be a leader in government. I was the one who wasn't going to get emotionally involved. I was the one who was going to do something really important and he was going to be real proud of me.

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[8]

	Autonomous-Developers (6)	Autonomous-Conflicted (11)	Moderately Autonomous (11)	Least Autonomous (15)	X^2
Parent Most Resembled in Emotional Make-up (in percent)					
Father	83	27	27	53	$.10 > X^2 > .05$
Mother	17	64	73	40	
Indicated neither		9		7	
Frequently in Serious Disagreement with Parents and Adults					
Father	50	73	18	0	.001
Mother	67	46	18	0	.05
Other Adults	33	27	9	7	NS

(The other responses besides "frequently" were "occasionally" and "never".)

> "Then I realized that I am not an intellectual and I do want to be kind of a home-body. My sister is. She says that Daddy looks at her with disgust, thinking--'Oh, there she goes into the old slot--chalk her off.' But I realized that he won't be that disappointed. If my younger brother doesn't turn out he would be. I think this is a problem he has. A certain lack of insight into his own children. I had to recognize that I have to live with myself. I started thinking, 'What am I, what do I want, what do I really care about?' My friends were no help. It's not any reflection on them. It's just that that is something nobody can help you with. My fiance was a help in that he encouraged me to keep up with my volunteer work and Daddy was a help in that he insisted I go ahead with plans for a summer job in Washington anyhow."

She was one of several oldest daughters in our sample, reputed to resemble their fathers, who also had younger brothers. These girls appeared to try to retain their position as both the father's favorite and his image. The preceding comment suggests the narcissistic blow involved as the daughter perceived her father's willingness to have her renounce achievement as long as her younger brother continued to strive. "Help" in a sense came when the important men in her life continued to offer her some support in developing her interests.[9]

Jane moved away from expecting her father to be disappointed and disapproving if she were not nationally famous, to a recognition that by modifying such ambition she would not "disgust" him. Whether this was a true reflection of her father's attitude or a reflection of her own intra-psychic changes is less relevant than that such projection or reality was a preoccupation and determinant of occupational and sex-role identity. Present also was a growing psychic separation from her father. Jane had been told many times that she was like her father and throughout college was reorganizing her self-image to allow for a more *separate and in this instance, more feminine, sense of self.*

The preceding comment also exemplifies an effective combination of reflection and action which seemed to characterize most of the Autonomous-Developers. Much time and effort went into their attempts to clarify motivations and aspirations. At times they tested their impressions in action without commitment to a long-term plan. Jane, of the above example, carried out previously-arranged plans to go to Washington although she was at the same time reconsidering her basic life plan. This provided a moratorium before she concluded a definite change in plans and then presented them to meaningful people in her life. It gave her an opportunity to meet a variety of people in government and to evaluate her renunciation against a background of actual experience.

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[9] In an unpublished doctoral dissertation, "Women-Men-Work: Women's Career Aspirations as Affected by the Male Environment," Dr. Carole A. Leland indicates that although college women tended to negate the influence of other people on their plans, those women who were "attached" to one male emphasized strongly his importance in their career planning (in contrast to importance accorded to parents and professors).

Father's Relationship with Daughter

Jane's description seems to indicate that both her father and boyfriend remained empathic and supported her development. Some daughters, as exemplified by the following two comments, were troubled to the point of discomfort by perceptions of paternal egotism:

> "My father once hoped to be a creative writer but over the years he has given this up. He wants his children to be things he wasn't although he's non-interfering about other people. He takes our experiences very personally....When something frustrating happens in our lives, he acts as if his personal pride, his personal achievement had been attacked and acts as if 'How could I do this to him?'"

> "My father can't understand my interest in the foreign service. This kind of feeling is beyond his scope; it's too idealistic, too vague. There's nothing specific about it. He wants to know, I think, that I'm going into such and such a job, I'm going to be able to say I'm working from such and such a time and I'm going to get this per hour and I'm going to have this tenure and so on. That, I think, to him would be something worth working for; something practical that you could count on and this would interest me as much as an old shoe."

The girls perceived or projected onto their energetic and decisive fathers a possessive and domineering attitude. To protect their individuality, it appeared urgent that they define their own wishes and inclinations. The accompanying conflict is evident in the following comment:

> "Although I can see a lot of faults in Dad and a lot of things I wouldn't want in my own husband, he still has a powerful hold over things I do. Instead of Big Brother watching me, I have a feeling that my father is watching me. Sometimes I wonder if I have a conscience of my own--if it's me talking or something that Dad said. I think what he says is important and I weigh carefully what he says, but I don't swallow all of it like I used to. I used to think it was just like a written law."

In this comment she described her feelings more accurately than her behavior. Through open discussions and frank encounters with him, she clearly perceived what her father's values were; and throughout her college years, she was engaged in courteous defiance of his wishes. (He discouraged her from going steady; she went steady. He wanted her to aspire to a prestigious career; she settled for less.) Although she both loved and admired her father, she felt compelled to separate out for herself which of his traits and values she personally wanted to accept. As this was an emotional as well as a rational struggle, she sometimes over-reacted. However, as she became older, she progressed toward behavior that included his values if their intrinsic worth was independently apparent to her. Her separation from her father was accompanied by parental renunciation of responsibility and power. This process was fondly described as follows:

> "I heard when a daughter starts growing up and the father realizes that she is actually going away from the family, and this separation is not a temporary thing, but probably is an indication of a further and further drift from the family, the fathers tend to get desperate in a certain way. They fight to hold whatever authority they have. And it seemed to me that Daddy was more unreasonable in little things than ever before. I think he was trying to prove to himself that he had authority. Actually, I was glad that Daddy was the way he was because it was based on the fact that he didn't want to let me go. I think maybe the tendency of the father is stronger if there is a close father-daughter relationship. And it's kind of a compliment."

Mother's Relationship with Daughter

A clinical truism proved relevant as a result of the analyses of the interview protocols. This truism concerns the great importance of the parent who is not designated by the patient to be of major influence. In several instances, the daughters were able to face and meet challenges growing out of identification with the father but seemed less aware and able to cope with complexities resulting from identification with the mother. Because of the girls' limited awareness of the effects of such identifications, it was only late in their college histories or through information supplied by close friends that similarities between mother and daughter became apparent.

The following are examples of the influence of the mothers. Jane, in describing obstacles to her development as an autonomous and competent person dwelt at length with her concern about overcoming a tendency to be decisive and dominant like her father. She barely perceived that identification with her mother prevented her from withdrawing from a group of party-going, anti-intellectual girls.

She described her mother's inability to hurt the feelings of friends by avoiding them but seemed unaware of the connection between her mother's behavior and her own. A second girl, as a complicated compensation to her mother, almost married a young man who was gregarious and dedicated to helping unfortunate people. The girl believed that her mother was disappointed because the daughter, as a creative person, craved isolation and seemed incapable of involving herself in social action. This student, upon hearing a lecturer comment that young adults often try to shape lives acceptable to parents rather than to their own needs, received and acted upon a sudden insight that her impending marriage might relieve her feelings of guilt but would be highly unsatisfactory to herself. She broke her engagement. A third girl, although valuing autonomy and intellectuality, was as submissive in her way to her fiance as her skilled-worker mother had been to her dominant foreign-born husband. A fourth student chose as her only close friend a girl resembling her mother in generosity and feminine interests. Out of this close relationship, the Autonomous-Developer became more interested in marriage and mutuality and her friend became more involved in intellectuality and a career.

As freshmen, most of the Autonomous-Developers described their mothers as inadequate because either they lacked forceful personalities or they viewed issues in an emotional, irrational, or uninformed manner. The daughters were aware that affection existed between their parents and in most cases these students appeared to love their mothers, albeit condescendingly. As some of the students progressed through four years of college, their descriptions of the mothers assigned to them wisdom and strength of opinion. One can conjecture that either turbulence and concern connected with the growth of the daughters stimulated development in their mothers or the daughters no longer needed to perceive ther mothers as relatively colorless and ineffectual.

Most of the students spoke fondly but critically of their mothers. Qualities which they admired were nurturant ones like gentleness and generosity. Qualities which irritated them were irrationality, submission of the mother to the father and aspirations for high social status. The majority of the Developers equated femininity with indecision and immaturity, and masculinity with competence and rationality. The following comments reveal both affection and exasperation in the daughters' comments about their mothers:

> "My mother is a very easygoing person and not demanding in the least with other people. She will adapt to almost any situation. I've always had the impression of her giving, always giving to other people--her time, her effort, her gifts, and so on. My mother would never punish me. I went out of my way to avoid doing anything that would irritate my mother

> because I had the feeling that she took it out on herself and it hurt her more than anything. She is quieter than my father, more absent-minded. I always tended to look down on my mother's abilities which I realized was wrong as my grandparents told me that she is very intelligent."

(Whenever the next student talked about her mother, her voice became sweet-toned and she sounded helpless, possibly because of fondness for her mother and her despair that her mother lacked understanding of her aspirations and problems.)

> "My mother is such a good Christian--I hate to talk to her about my religious doubts--it makes her feel badly. It is impossible to get angry at her but sometimes I feel annoyed because she's naive about the world. She doesn't think badly of anybody. I'm like her in willingness to accept things rather than fight. Although I have a quick temper, I avoid active conflicts--find them tiring."

Two other students commented about their mothers' overconcern about social matters:

> "My mother keeps wanting me to date 'nice people' like my sister does and I don't like them. She doesn't like late hours and keeps telling me that I am eighteen and she is still my mother. She and my sisters go into tantrums when they dislike something and I try to be more rational. I'm not as cynical or afraid of people as my mother is. In college she kept a lot of boys on the string--and was popular. I date a lot of people, but when I don't like them I get rid of them. My mother is volatile and blows off. She has a bad temper and lets a lot of little things bother her that I feel are unimportant."

> "My mother is gregarious and she likes to be around people. In high school I was very serious, I didn't go out much or anything; just read and played the piano a lot and my mother didn't like this. When people called me for dates, I hardly went out. So the first two years at Stanford, I went really wild--out all the time, and toward the end of my freshman year it really started bugging me. My freshman year I went to a lot of loud parties and made light conversation with a lot of people. I was sort of a gay extrovert. When I told my mother I was tired of going out and didn't like things like cocktail parties, she'd say, 'But you have to, dear, it's something you'll just have to do, everybody has to do that.' I said, 'Sorry, I don't think so.' Sometimes when I want to be by myself, Mother says, 'You're so selfish, you don't love me.'"

There were innumerable other examples where identification with the mothers tended to impose on the girls ideals and resistance to change which slowed or complicated their interpersonal relationships or intellectual and career development. The students were slower in perceiving these influences than they were the effect of their more dynamic and expressive fathers. Thus the mothers influenced the girls strongly in two areas. First, the mothers had been admired for attractiveness and charm, and the daughters, like their mothers, were comfortable with men and able to enjoy and respect their interests and masculinity. Second, the absence of serious career interests on the part of the mothers and their friends dampened the enthusiasm of the students in involving themselves seriously in intellectual and career pursuits. Although many of the girls were excited about their increased competence as scholars and the knowledge they were acquiring, this seemed to them to be irrelevant to their futures. The lack of mothers who were intensely involved in professional or community activities appeared to present a need for supplementary feminine identification figures. The university, with its predominance of male professional personnel offered few women of serious intellectual interests and comfortable femininity for identification purposes. The few women who had these qualities were observed and eagerly emulated by the students we designated as Autonomous-Developers.

Conflict and Resolution

These women did not come from bland, placid, uncommunicative families. They came from homes where issues were discussed openly and differing opinions were countenanced and scrutinized. Independence and competence had been encouraged during their childhood. As emerging adults, they rose vigorously to the challenge of ascertaining their own individuality and separating themselves from emotional dependence on their parents. In the process, this created intrafamilial turmoil. Their independent or peer-stimulated critical evaluation of political, moral, religious and personal values forced their parents to evaluate critically taken-for-granted opinions. For example, the gradual but determined renunciation of Catholicism and firm acceptance of agnosticism by one student caused upheaval in her family. In others, the daughters' involvements in civil rights activities, peace movements or international humanitarianism made the parents painfully aware how some present-day interpretations reflected their own idealism. Patterns of interpersonal relationships different than those of the parents also led to disagreements and conflicts. Not infrequently, irrational defenses complicated issues.

Abrupt detachment from parents over an issue or renunciation of a significant commitment or desire often precipitated a "crisis." These crises, characterized by intense re-evaluation of self and motives, evoked feelings of separation and depression. For example, one student whose parents protested her career involvement was threatened by discontinuance of money for college if she went to South America on a service project. She absorbed herself in many activities to deaden her anger.

> "I was in this huge depression for a week and a half. I finally shook myself out of it. This led to a lot of questioning about my whole attitude about college and my actions here. I found that in the months preceding, I had slipped into what I dislike most--just an acceptance of life. I was doing things to get them done. I had overcommitted myself and had to choose what was important. I talked to Professor and Mrs. D. I learned a lot about myself in those three-four months."

The Autonomous-Developers displayed both an ability to tolerate periods of depression, and at the same time, to reach out to professors for identification and counsel. The ability to tolerate feelings of depression rather than to flee from them may have indicated that the girls felt certain of the temporariness of any deep discomfort or that they had enough self-esteem and self-sufficiency to sustain them through periods of intense disappointment. Contrasting herself with a friend who could not tolerate such periods, an Autonomous student commented:

> "A lot of people feel alienated and that's the reason they go out and do things--be with people all the time--this covers up their feeling of alienation--even though they might not be having any deep communication with people. When Sue feels this way--she likes to go and be with people--she'll go to the library just to sit with people. I just want to be alone. I want to figure out why I feel the way I do--just let it come and really feel it--let myself feel all horrible and alienated and depressed and then after awhile it will just go away and I can be all right again."

Over the four years this student had not been masochistic in her behavior but very involved in understanding herself and in creative work. Tolerance of periods of intense aloneness and sadness often preceded a new approach to personal relationships or creative endeavors. Another student in this group with deeper pain as a result of her parents' divorce was inclined to deny feelings of depression. She boasted of her gaiety and bounce, but acted in self-destructive ways and had several car accidents. She seemed unaware of the possible unconscious connection between denial of feelings of abandonment and discouragement and the accidents that occurred.

THE AUTONOMOUS-CONFLICTED (N=15)

Although the Autonomous-Developers were not free from conflict, their strengths were such that the net result for them was development and growth. For the Autonomous-Conflicted, this was not the case. Either they felt uncertain about their attractiveness and femininity or they were handicapped in their pursuit of intellectual or career interests because of intra-psychic conflicts or situational obstructions. Either they were not comfortable as women or they were weighted down by burdens in defining or achieving goals.

General Characteristics of the Conflicted Girls

Some of these girls had few if any romantic involvements during college and others were among the few in our sample who made early and what seemed to be impulsive marriages. Psychological test scores indicated that like the Autonomous-Developers, the Autonomous-Conflicted group scored high in Impulse Expression. However, the first group appeared to respond in a less impulsive way as they matured whereas more of the Conflicted girls retained their high level of impulsive behavior. Both groups of girls gave an impression of vitality and energy but the Autonomous-Developers appeared to utilize theirs for more well-rounded development. Much activity of the Conflicted girls appeared to have a defensive nature to it.

Most of these students displayed physical vigor and enjoyment of athletics. Ten entered the university with expressed desires to pursue careers in science or mathematics. The rigorous demands of the courses discouraged most of the girls, and all but two moved out of these fields by the time they graduated or left the university. For eleven, attendance at an "elite" university gave promise of enabling them to move from the economically disadvantaged position of their parents to a higher socio-economic level. Despite this aspiration of upward social mobility, they often evidenced little understanding of the complexities of career aspirations. Lacking prolonged association with professional people, they were more aware of the material rewards and status of the professions than of the difficult preparation and sustained dedication required. Naivete and lack of educated identification figures led them to approach their university careers with high hopes and unrealistic expectations. As they encountered difficulties in competing with students whose backgrounds had offered many socializing experiences for professional life, six appeared to search for a mystical or religious system to bolster faith in their ability to accomplish goals. Partly, they appeared doubtful about their impulses under pressure. Partly, they lacked trust in their pasts as foundations for coping with their college years.

Parental Patterns

Two distinct subgroups, the Supercompetents and the Overwhelmed, composed the Autonomous-Conflicted. These were ambitious and hopeful students who came from backgrounds in which parents appeared to give them insufficient encouragement. For example, the Supercompetents came from homes where perfectionistic fathers had set high standards of performance. These fathers appeared to be cold and remote in their relationships with their daughters. The wives of these perfectionistic and remote men appeared to be emotional and ineffectual. The most common type of family for the Overwhelmed included a father whose inadequacies created severe family problems. Alcoholism, chronic illness and lack of education on the part of the father often played havoc with the emotional and financial security of the home. Sometimes the wives protested and complained while in other instances they appeared to their daughters as long-suffering martyrs. Several of the mothers took over the main job of guidance in the home and also worked at professional and semi-professional jobs. The mothers used their energy and competence to supplement the family income. Their relative sturdiness seemed to cause more daughters in this group to indicate that they resembled their mothers than was true of the Autonomous-Developers. In summary, the Supercompetents had fathers with high standards of achievement and mothers who appeared to be less competent. The Overwhelmed had weak fathers and mothers who were either overwhelmed or effective as heads of households.

The Supercompetents (N=6)

These women students displayed gifts in either scholastic aptitudes or ability to organize time and energy. They demanded excellence of themselves which led to conspicuous success in a variety of endeavors or to self-defeating symptoms suggestive of a protest against their excessive self-demands. One unusually brilliant girl evidenced the latter by obsessional behavior which resulted in poor academic performance. The other five were impressive in their wholehearted involvement in intellectual, academic and extracurricular activities. These students won honors and held appointive and elective offices. Their peers apparently respected but did not love them. Possibly distinguished performance or service compensated for limited success in interpersonal relationships. Several enjoyed activities with other girls in which their vigor and initiative stimulated group efforts. Two seemed unready for heterosexual activities and quite content with the responses of girl friends for their emotional needs. It appeared that acceptance of self by same-sex friends had to be experienced before the student could move toward intimate heterosexual contacts. Two others were conspicuously isolated. Academic achievement gave them their raison d'etre and a single friend or fantasy friends satisfied their need for relating. Not infrequently these six students seemed overdependent, overdemanding of others or protectively reserved.

Phyllis was a brilliant example of one of these students. At present she attends a prestigious law school and continues a dazzling career. In contrast to others in the subgroup, her aptitudes as indicated by the Scholastic Aptitude Tests were relatively modest. (Most of the Super-competents scored high on their aptitude tests and showed evidence of creativity in their work.) Phyllis was outstanding for her vigor and organizational skills. She was described as follows by a variety of friends, interviewers, and faculty:

> "She is so ambitious that one cannot help but think it is overcompensatory. I can't imagine her relaxed and trusting anyone. Perhaps busy-ness keeps her from having time to try. She is remarkably neat, proud, well-groomed, efficient, dependable and service-oriented. Phyllis has the self-confidence necessary to be a leader. Sometimes in her enthusiasm and self-confidence, she does not realize that she has offended or used others. She is very poised in social situations, an accomplished conversationalist and uninhibited in her enthusiasm. She has brought new programs into the dormitories that have benefited other girls. However, I do not believe she knows anyone very well and some of her potential effectiveness is lost because of her inability to communicate with others."

> "She has a tremendously large ego which gets very much in her way sometimes. She is a person who tries to excel in everything she undertakes. In addition to being a fine student in her field, she is an excellent musician, skier, tennis player and golfer. She has been president of several student organizations and recipient of academic honors. Her activities and her extraordinary energies keep her very busy and she tends to appear aloof or indifferent to the girls in her house. As a person who never experienced failure or difficulty she is not very sympathetic toward other students and at times is inconsiderate of them. However, she is concerned about doing the right thing best."

> "Phyllis is a person who has managed to go a long way with a facade. She is obsessed with the idea of personal success and has spent her entire college career in obtaining it. She has a fine mind, an attractive appearance, a superficially engaging personality and a tremendous amount of ambition. Unfortunately, she has not yet learned how to disguise the chinks in her facade. She is a little too much in a hurry, a little overeager, but she has managed to fool most of her contemporaries and a good many others as well. There never has been a time when it has occurred to her to put another person, his needs or his happiness, ahead of her own. She is very unpopular with a large number of girls who have known her well before, but to those who do not know her well, she seems like the 'perfect college girl.'"

Phyllis achieved considerable success in her relationships with adults. She was courteous, interested and energetic in problems connected with university affairs. She was enthusiastic, well-organized and successful in her academic endeavors. However, while she was impressing peers and adults with her competence, efficiency and vigor, by her junior year she was feeling considerable strain. In one of her advanced and special courses she found a young male student who was as vigorous and ambitious as herself. They got together to discuss ideas and found they shared interests in athletics and political activities. Theirs was a short but gratifying friendship. Concurrent with this experience, Phyllis sought out a sympathetic but perfectionist therapist whose aid she enlisted because of a feeling of disintegration and fatigue. Apparently her ambition fed on ambition and she felt pressures that she could not handle. Thus, two demanding but sympathetic men entered into her life fortuitously and led her to re-assess her values. She commented at that time:

> "I was going through a tremendous change--not quite a nervous breakdown. I was ready to leave school and have a rest. I found out I couldn't do everything I wanted to do. I'd always thought I was some kind of a superman and could do anything and as much as I wanted. I found out I was just a human like everyone else. I spread myself so thin, I couldn't do another thing and I was forced to take a rest. I was very tired and I told my parents that I was not coming home for that summer. I decided it was time for me to be selfish. The realization that I'm human has allowed me to communicate more. And I think I've changed a lot--am more considerate.
>
> "I don't feel the inner need to maintain the illusions and defenses I had. I don't feel the need to be as self-protective as I used to be with others.
>
> "I guess I like me fairly well now. I didn't before, but told myself I did. Now the most important thing is being gentle to people. I value the intellect very highly but I don't think I'm the greatest thing anymore. I still don't have the ability to open up and be open to all kinds of people.
>
> "I can admit I'm a woman and have a strong sex drive. I never could accept that before. I feel very much more at peace. I'm now free to listen to people instead of doing fifty pages on a paper. I wish I had changed sooner. There weren't enough straws piled on to break the camel's back yet.

> "I was an amazingly inflexible, rigid personality. It probably was because of my background. I was forced into a defensive position in my family because I was the oldest child. They were unfair, but to avoid getting negative responses I went to great lengths to suppress anything not in accord with their wishes. I think I grew up; they didn't. I made achievement a way to earn their affection. There was a lot of competition between my sister and brother and me. I think I built up defenses to avoid getting hurt when my family withdrew their love. I can go home now and enjoy it because I'm no longer dependent on them for love and self-esteem."

Although as a senior this student was still far from being a soft, gentle, empathic person, her behavior--directly affected by her new self-evaluation--had changed as affirmed by friends and as reflected in more desirable scores on psychological tests. Previously, her overambition and selfcenteredness made other students cautious about her. However, it became apparent to them that, although the dynamic and enthusiastic aspects of her personality continued, her selfishness had diminished. Near the end of her college days, her peers saw her as a frank, realistic, and courageous person who attempted to do her best because she had great capabilities. When last heard of, she was continuing to softpedal some of her overly aggressive inclinations.

Relationship with Parents

The fathers of these girls, as indicated earlier, were aloof, self-disciplined and demanded perfection. Occasionally a girl would mention having considerable difficulty with her father because both of them were stubborn and his disciplinarian tendencies were equalled by her dislike and resentment of disciplinary behavior. Their mothers seemed incapable of controlling the demands of the fathers and appeared to be conciliatory, soothing and ineffectual. Several of them actually leaned upon the girls for support, rather than offering them opportunity to identify with a strong feminine figure. In spite of this, several daughters felt that they resembled the mother more than the father and possibly this was a reflection of their own submissive attitude toward the father.

Two years after graduation found five of the Supercompetents enrolled in prestigious graduate schools and moving toward positions such as physician, lawyer and college teacher. These students had been among those with the highest scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Tests and were strongly oriented toward academic success. None of them were married two years after graduation.

The Overwhelmed (N=9)

On the other hand, six of the nine Overwhelmed, physically attractive and lively, were married by graduation. They scored lower on aptitude tests than the Supercompetents. Reading the interviews of the nine students over the four years saddens the reader who cannot help but perceive that "the cards were stacked" against these women achieving their goals. They needed more than admission to an elite university and minimal scholarships to survive and thrive.

Their parents had limited education, low socio-economic status or marital problems. For some students the downward pull of their parents was overpowering. Four young women were involved in problems connected with paternal alcoholism, and one was literally abandoned by her passive mother and rejecting stepfather. The latter, in common with other parents in this group,communicated to the girls their resentment of the students' opportunities for higher education. Sometimes the parents admonished the students not to feel superior and other times the parents made them feel guilty because they were not working and contributing to the care of younger siblings. In addition to reassuring the parents that higher education would not separate them from the family and handling their own feelings of guilt, the girls were struggling to obtain scholarship grades while holding down part-time jobs.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that four dropped out of the university before graduation. Two hastened into marriage--one with another college dropout whom she knew for a month before marriage and the other to a much older man. Both girls, originally ambitious for professional status, were employed at stenographic jobs. A third student, recipient of national honors and among the most promising of the students we interviewed, was so torn between academic-work demands permitting no time for leisure and intellectual enrichment, and guilt aroused by parental admonishments against pride, that she viewed her pregnancy and marriage as an opportunity to escape from pressures. The fourth girl took a job as a saleswoman and was looking for a husband.

Two more students continued their education but with pathological withdrawal and psychosomatic symptoms. Migraine headaches, depression and weight loss accompanied their cheerless determination to survive. By curtailing interpersonal relations and getting minimal sleep, one girl made Phi Beta Kappa and another graduated. The former received psychiatric help but the other felt herself unworthy of even this sort of attention.

The remaining three girls were physically attractive and charming. Two had quasi-religious and mystical bents. One was strongly motivated to help the downtrodden and the other to find a philosophy which would enable her to maintain self-respect and motivation in spite of her father's alcoholism and accompanying family problems. Both girls had peculiar ways of communicating: they talked longer and more sincerely but were more difficult to understand than other interviewees. Their communications were vague and wandering. Because of their attractiveness, young men often sought them out and they became intimately involved--but then withdrew. They attributed this behavior either to having chosen authoritarian and exploitative men or to feeling unworthy if their male friends were mature and kindly. One student expressed concern that her hostility to her father might prevent her from establishing a gratifying relationship with any man. Poor grades, perceived snubs because of low social status, rejection by a steady boyfriend and her father's criminal behavior distressed a third girl. She was promiscucus for several months during which time she denied being overwhelmed by her problems. Her family members prided themselves on accepting hardship without self-pity and this tradition may have prevented her from facing her despair. Cessation of promiscuity followed a summer spent away from academic and social pressure and improvement in father's behavior.

When the Supercompetents were accepted by elite graduate schools and on their ways to higher degrees, the Overwhelmed were in a state of retreat or indecision. Five did not graduate with their class and within a few months of graduation, the futures of the other four were unclear. One was headed for the Peace Corps, which not only harmonized with her goals but postponed for a couple of years the necessity of academic or marital commitment. Two others had shifted from major to major and were uncommitted at the time of their last interview. Although close to graduation they had not received responses to their late and half-hearted applications to graduate schools. The fourth student, preoccupied with emotional problems and gentle sympathy for others, was showing interest in graduate studies in educational psychology and counseling.

The Autonomous girls were vigorous and lively. Most of them were independent and active in designing life plans. They entered the university with more interest in political and social issues than was true of students in the other groups. The Autonomous-Developers had the advantage of university-educated parents who respected the independence of their daughters and who were deeply interested in their life plans. The Autonomous-Conflicted, although equally zestful, lacked the self-confidence accruing to the more attractive and advantaged Developers. In addition, family problems complicated their lives.

THE MODERATELY AUTONOMOUS (N=12)

Autonomy or preoccupation with themselves as unique individuals was not a conspicuous concern of the Moderately Autonomous upon entrance to college. Whereas the Autonomous girls seemed to face danger by impulsively involving themselves in relationships and situations that bristled with challenge and conflict, the Moderately Autonomous frequently struggled to cope with depression and passivity. While the virtues of the Autonomous girls were potential creativity and leadership, the virtue of the Moderately Autonomous was capacity to persevere though discouraged.

The Moderately Autonomous shared with the Autonomous-Conflicted a variety of experiences which lowered self-esteem, but the two groups reacted differently. Conceivably because of differences in temperament and background, the latter often rushed into activity and involvement while the former withdrew into introspection and mild depression. Although progress may have been slowed by discomfort, they persevered and moved toward greater self-understanding, and toward clearer realization that their talents could be translated into dignified and rewarding lives. Such development occurred less frequently in the Autonomous-Conflicted because of the nature of their family problems, intra-psychic conflicts and the involvement in overwhelming situations described above.

Backgrounds of the Moderately Autonomous

In contrast to the Autonomous-Developers, the Moderately Autonomous came from unstimulating home environments, either intellectually or aesthetically. Their homes had been stable and their needs met in a practical and reliable manner. Most families were middle class and their geographic location was a small town or medium-sized city in the West or Middle West. One exception was a Negro girl who came from an urban center. Her college-educated parents and their friends appeared to expect work behavior and self-control comparable to the expectations of the more provincial families of the other girls. For the most part, fathers held managerial positions in small businesses. Most parents had been educated through college but were not involved in intellectual, theoretical or artistic activities. Although content as homemakers, a number of mothers worked in educational or service activities as volunteers and occasionally as professionals. A few had business training or experience.

Interaction between family members in most of these families could be described as "cool." The warmth, excitement and involvement with plans and values that characterized the homes of the Autonomous-Developers was absent. Also missing were the cold, perfectionistic demands described by the Supercompetents or the crises and abandonment of the Overwhelmed. The families appeared to be nurturant but not possessive. This seemed to encourage independence and competence but not richness of personality or creativity.

For the most part, mothers and fathers appeared compatible and neither disagreements nor open discussions were frequent occurrences. Families appeared to do things together, and to do things for each other but showed no closeness in the sense of knowing well one another's motives and problems. They accepted and supported each other without necessarily expressing themselves verbally. Possibly the girls were not rebellious enough to force the parents to make their expectations explicit or perhaps the parents perceived their daughters as having novel and superior experiences which they felt inadequate to guide.

In addition to living in a small community and an intellectually limited environment, most of the Moderately Autonomous had been involved with church activities. Their stable homes and religious experiences seemed to provide them with both strong controls and a sense of hope. They appeared to believe that "things would turn out all right" for them. This was true even for the majority of girls whose religious convictions became weaker during college. Moreover, the concept that virtue would be rewarded seemed to have left its impression on them and to have provided them with motivation to keep working when rewards were slow to come. About half of these girls were on scholarships and others were quite careful of finances because of limited family resources or habits of thrift.

Other Characteristics of the Moderately Autonomous

They seldom displayed much knowledge of intellectual and cultural matters, and they did not engage in political activism or creative projects. These were neither brilliant nor socially sophisticated students, but they did engage in considerable introspection. Relatively quiet, thoughtful, steady and dependable, most of them welcomed an opportunity to help others. They seemed to enjoy the company of girls and to date boys who were not sophisticated and socially self-confident.

Some of these girls were giving and gentle; they enjoyed listening to young men and assisting them with everyday tasks. The girls expressed opinions reluctantly, and tended to be both self-critical and overly receptive to criticism from boys. Inexperienced young men sought them as dates because they appeared unthreatening yet attractive. However, either because they were not lively or because the boys feared premature commitment, most of the Moderately Autonomous had disappointing romances early in their college careers which often led to reassessing their goals and to greater independence.

The narcissistic blow of being "dumped on" led them to withdraw for a time with feelings of unworthiness. Rather than fleeing impulsively into compensatory relationships or activities, they tended to feel depressed. They tried to be "nice" to those around them and to stick to their tasks. Occasionally they escaped into girlish pranks, excessive eating or bridge playing, or occasional heavy drinking. Some students drank too much and were raucous at parties on occasion, but they rarely became serious problems. One girl described her friends as attending wild parties with heavy drinking but added that they all graduated with their class and were virgins at the time of graduation. Such drinking might indicate relative inexperience in social matters or serve as a protest against daily demands for achievement. Students in this group showed still another protective and effective defense, namely humor, the ability to see life as amusing and to joke with others.

During college these young women enjoyed feeling competent and not dependent on others. Their interest in a few years of "independence" after graduation may have reflected either a desire to postpone marriage or a rationalization of their disappointment in not having found a mate. Whichever, they expressed a desire to become more certain of themselves as individuals, to test their non-domestic competencies, and to see more of the world before "settling down." Many of these young women, prior to college,had contemplated future lives either as housewives or as employees in routine and subordinate positions. Their university experiences alerted them to the possibility of utilizing their talents in careers that promised challenge and gratification. Because the concept of interesting careers was a relatively new one to them, or because the dream of marriage immediately after graduation was not fulfilled for them, reorganization of their plans continued close to graduation. This may have accounted for the fact that over half of the Moderately Autonomous indicated "Developing a Personal Identity" as a primary postgraduate task.[10] It may also have accounted for the relatively large number (36%) who were undecided about postgraduate plans close to graduation.

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[10] Percentage of Seniors Ranking "Developing a Personal Identity" as among the First Three of Fourteen Choices of Important Postgraduate Tasks (Senior Questionnaire):

Autonomous-Developers (6)	Autonomous-Conflicted (11)	Moderately Autonomous (11)	Least Autonomous (15)
0	36	55	33

The Girls Next Door (N=5)

Five girls could be characterized as the "Girls Next Door." They came from stable middle class backgrounds where the parents indicated pride in their daughters and confidence in their judgment regarding work and social matters. The following comments about Sue also apply to three other students:

A male student:

> "She is the type of person who makes one actually contemplate marriage in a serious manner. She is able to take care of herself, and a very thoughtful person where others are concerned. When she has convictions, they are firm convictions. She is a romantic."

A female student:

> "She will avoid getting into ticklish situations; she plans ahead without affecting her spontaneity. Her interests are broad and she maintains an open curiosity, although I don't think the depths of her interest are extreme. She is simple in her approaches and tends to be shy. She tends to observe more than to participate if there is someone else to carry the conversation. She impresses me as an exuberant, active, warm but independent person. She is one of those generous, kind, cheerful and somewhat naive girls I think you can call a "sweet girl" without any depreciation."

The five shared fundamentalist religious backgrounds which gave them clear definitions of good behavior, and character structures which led to faith that such behavior would be generally beneficial to them. Being pretty, gentle in manner and willing to give and adapt to others, they found themselves sought out by men students. Their sexual values were challenged by close men friends and although the girls were warm and responsive, the stability of their homes, their practical natures, and teachings of the church precluded premarital relations. One student, deeply in love, commented:

> "I think sexual intercourse is strictly for marriage. I think it is the highest physical expression, and although you might love someone before you are married, you don't have the special relationship that you have once you are

> married. Sexual relations before marriage wouldn't be particularly satisfying because you would feel as if you were almost hiding it, like it was something wrong. In marriage, it's nothing wrong and a very basic part of marriage.[11]

They did not judge other students since the strength of their sexual responses and reluctance to limit their giving made them aware of powerful forces at work.

Though friends and interviewers did not describe the Girls Next Door as complex or subtle, their openness to a variety of people and experiences and their self-criticism and straight-forwardness led to development during college. Gradually, they became more aware of social, political, cultural and psychological complexities and of varieties of ways to utilize their energies. Although these girls tested low in Impulse Expression and Social Maturity at entrance, most of them made significant movement toward higher scores as seniors. Possibly as a result of the discomfort often accompanying change and growth, they,as well as others among the *Moderately Autonomous*, complained of occasional depression. They either fought it as "childish" or concentrated on tasks, waiting for time or change in external pressures to alleviate the situation. The girls and their friends mentioned problems in communication as a difficulty. Shyness, family patterns of limited communication and lack of knowledge of political, intellectual, and emotional problems made them feel inferior to more verbally skilled and knowledgeable students. As seniors, however, the *Moderately Autonomous* felt better able to communicate with others than they had as freshmen.

Relationship with Parents

Separation from emotional dependence on parents and their values occurred with less apparent turmoil and discomfort for the *Moderately Autonomous* than was true for the *Autonomous* students. The Girls Next Door were not rebellious by temperament. Parents were said to be quiet, reserved, busy with their own tasks, and closely involved with each other. The whole family generally participated in home sociability and maintenance and shared interests in the outdoors and sports. Parents demonstrated affection for the girls by decorating their rooms or making clothing for them. These students described their parents as interested in them but not interfering in matters involving careers and personal decisions. They seemed to be relatively confident that the girls would show good judgment as they proceeded to develop

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[11] Percent of Women Describing Selves as Experiencing High Sexual Intimacy (rather than low or moderate):

Autonomous-Developers	Autonomous-Conflicted	Moderately Autonomous	Least Autonomous
(6)	(11)	(11)	(15)
50	36	9	20

independence. The mothers were portrayed as gentle and content with being wives and mothers. Three had been educated as teachers or social workers and two had business school training, but none had worked after marriage. They viewed their daughters with interest as having greater opportunities for development than they had had. Fathers were often described as quiet and reserved. They made suggestions to their daughters but did not persist when, after consideration, they were rejected.

Occupational and Personal Development

Being competent and efficient workers, the Girls Next Door achieved good grades even though their scholastic aptitude was low in comparison with the other students being examined. Being quiet participants, they were involved in student group activities without the burden of leadership or complexities of innovators. Courses, lectures, cultural events and participation in overseas campuses impressed them as thought-provoking and exciting. Since their lives had been relatively devoid of intellectual and cultural stimulation, their needs and expectancies were limited. Thoughtfully and slowly, the girls moved into new areas of interest, for example, the arts and political and social reform. Their kindliness tended to make them sympathetic toward underprivileged people and led to some minor participation in service activities.

During summers, the girls held jobs in industry; and although they began with clerical or secretarial work, their amiability and responsible attitudes led to promotions and managerial or supervisory tasks. These jobs seemed to enhance their feelings of independence as well as giving them money to defray educational expenses or to permit special travel opportunities or to try new interests. They were concerned about the financial strain their education involved for their parents, and this led two students to get degrees in less than four years. Reducing the period necessary for an undergraduate degree did not prevent them from being exploratory and sometimes adventurous about occupational planning. As freshmen, the Girls Next Door perceived teaching or laboratory work as appropriate careers for women and had little interest in graduate work. Their aspirations increased as a result of their college experience and two years after graduation, one student was attending law school, a second had completed training as a speech therapist and three others were enrolled in graduate schools with majors in foreign language, biology and political science. These students, as freshmen, expressed interest in marrying well-educated men. As seniors this was still their goal, but the following comments by one woman characterized others.

As a sophomore:

> "Ten years from now, I want to be settled in a home--have children and I won't be teaching. I'll be a wife and mother and to me that's what I've always wanted. Being a teacher will be something to do before I marry--but I hope I'll marry someone who'll be able to support me, so I can devote my time to being a wife and mother--what I've always wanted to be and what my mother has done."

As a senior:

> "Ten years from now, I'll have children--I will have worked as a lawyer for two years. I really want to do that to see if I'm capable because I really like it. My aunt is a doctor and works part-time and says she loves it. I decided that I want to marry the kind of man who also expects the woman he marries to have done what she wants to have done. I want my husband to expect a great deal of me."

Each of the Girls Next Door wanted to postpone marriage until they had had opportunities to broaden their experiences and to test their competencies. At graduation they seemed interested in establishing a foundation for professional involvement, although they identified with giving and competent mother figures and looked forward with enthusiasm to devoting themselves to children.

The Discouraged (N=3)

Three Moderately Autonomous girls shared with those just described an "Avis Rent-a-Car" self-concept--"We're second best so we have to try harder." They did the latter quietly, persistently, and with some resignation. These students shared common characteristics described by an interviewer: "She's affectless, somewhat depressed, somewhat inarticulate but with a twinkle and some dignity." They plodded along getting good grades and made everyday decisions in a practical, thrifty and solid way. They attempted to strengthen their capacity to be independent of others. Usually, they behaved in a moral andproper manner; but their wit, occasional crudeness, occasional excessive drinking and clinging to individuals or groups suggested opposing intra-psychic pulls.

The self-description of one student had qualities shared by the others:

> "I'm average size, average looking, light brown hair and light eyes. I'm hard to talk to at first, but after you get to know me, it's not so hard. I'm fairly easy-going,

> good-humored with people. Can't think of anything outstanding to say. Fairly nicely dressed usually but inclined to be sloppy sometimes. I'm sort of a wavering liberal at the moment. I don't push what I believe onto other people. I tend to be a little insensitive in areas that don't bother me--I'm trying to become more sensitive and aware. As a freshman I was more insecure--wanted to be part of a group--scared of going to a big college. Since overseas campus, I'm more detached, don't jump into the middle of a group--more independent."

The student's comments about insensitivity may have reflected difficulty in interpersonal relations. The Discouraged were competent students and workers, but often tactlessness and boisterousness led to rebuffs from peers and adults. As freshmen, they scored low in Social Maturity and high in Impulse Expression on the Omnibus Personality Inventory and these scores may have reflected attitudes and behavior that irritated other people.

The girls were discouraged because of the discrepancy between their need for affection and recognition and the response of others to them. They resembled the Supercompetents, as students in both subgroups were more skilled in academic than in interpersonal matters. However, the Discouraged were not as burdened with family problems nor as brilliant as the Supercompetents. Their academic competence, while not outstanding enough to compensate for deficiencies in social skills, afforded them opportunity for development of social competence. Good grades qualified them for overseas campuses. Participation in the overseas program led to closer relationships with other students and modification of self-centered behavior. Because they were efficient students, they sometimes elicited favorable responses from faculty and this also enhanced their self-esteem. Academic competence gave them time to spend with other students. Self-evaluation and constructive criticism from peers led to more realism in self-appraisal as well as more gratifying relationships. Higher scores as seniors on the social maturity scale and lower scores in impulse expression may have reflected these changes. Fellow students commented about the wit and humor of the Discouraged, and these qualities were valuable assets in their endeavors to improve themselves. Over the four years, these students moved away from unrealistically high self-expectations and toward modified goals which were still ambitious.

Relationship with Parents

The unstimulating families of the Discouraged had been non-intrusive. For the most part their family environments had not been pathogenic, but neither had they been supportive. These girls described their parents as congenial. Although they perceived their mothers to be more competent and vital than their fathers, the students hoped to marry men who were more dynamic than themselves. The girls' concern was that they might be forced to dominate if they married someone relatively passive. As one student commented: "I wouldn't want to marry someone meek, because I might end up pushing him around. I'd rather he put me in my place once in awhile. I can be pushy if someone is very passive." The Discouraged generally anticipated marriage in an unromantic way, partly because of their low self-esteem. Their dreams did include the hope that men who would claim them would be educated, financially successful and fond of the outdoors. They feared being not chosen and left behind. They were not enthusiastic about children and considered two the optimum number for their future families.

Occupational and Personal Development

Although the Discouraged were generally uninterested in professional careers as freshmen, by graduation one student was quite expert in computer work, another sought a position as a college administrator and a third opted for law. Good grades and recognition for their practicality and perseverance stimulated more ambitious plans. Dislike for monotonous and unstimulating summer jobs added further motivation. The Discouraged had experienced drudgery and indicated that they were willing to study hard in order to avoid this after graduation. Also, they wanted to shun uninteresting communities and homes devoid of intellectual and cultural stimuli. They may not have known clearly what they wanted, but they knew what they did not want.

The Conflicted Developers among the Moderately Autonomous (N=4)

Although not as gifted or physically attractive as the *Autonomous-Developers*, the next four students resembled them in their liveliness and diversity of interests. Although their backgrounds were richer in encouragement of individual talents than those of most of the *Moderately-Autonomous*, familial traumas slowed progress and led to "Moderate Development."

Relationship with Parents

With one exception, these girls came from homes where parents were better-educated, more sophisticated and higher in socio-economic status than parents of the other *Moderately-Autonomous*. In addition, the mothers had either gone to prestigious colleges or had held professional, responsible jobs. The parents communicated to the girls that they both valued education and were desirous that their daughters aspire to intellectually gratifying lives.

In contrast to the Autonomous-Conflicted, some adult male relative encouraged these girls to develop their intellectual potential, and some older female relative provided them with an identification model. In other words, these girls had serious family problems, but family strengths afforded balance. For example, one girl's sadness over financial problems and the death of her father when she was at puberty led to depression and a sense of unworthiness. The sturdiness of her mother and encouragement of an older brother provided needed support. Similarly, a student from a foreign country, handicapped by language problems, loneliness and concern about her mother's illness, found strength in her parents' faith in her potential and in the high value placed on independence and intellectuality. A third girl, burdened by being the able child with two disturbed siblings, also suffered distress because of family divorce. However, as a result of remarriages, she enjoyed the interest of four creative and intelligent adults, her parents and stepparents. A fourth girl, distressed by her mother's alcoholism, found support in the encouragement and interest of her older brother, sister and father. In these four instances, although problems existed, the family disintegration, confusion or coldness ascribed to the Autonomous Conflicted did not appear.

The college careers of the Conflicted Developers showed some bitterness, cynicism or depression, but they seemed able to work out personal philosophies which enhanced self-respect and justified ambitious goals. Possibly, this was encouraged by compensating strengths in the families; but also important was the fact that their traumatic experiences had occurred prior to college entrance. Painful experiences such as divorce or death left scars, but the major part of the adjustment took place not
or death left scars, but the major part of the adjustment took place
in college but in familiar home settings when the girls were less actively involved in clarifying their identities, sex-roles or separateness from their parents. It was our impression that family disintegration while the student was in college was particularly difficult for young people.

Characteristics and Values

These four girls, having been serious students who experienced personal tragedy prior to matriculation, hoped to experience fun and popularity in college. A brief period of acting as "party girls" convinced them of their inappropriateness in this role. One student commented that as a freshman, she was a "serious person who was seriously trying to become 'hang-loose'." She and several others were hurt or rejected by relatively immature young men they encountered and spent considerable time and thought reassessing their values and expectations. They turned to academic or service activities for gratification.

One student moved from no professional aims as a freshman to honors at graduation, followed by completion of graduate work and acceptance of an administrative position. Although strengths in both personality and background enabled her to function well, distressing experiences with an alcoholic mother left their mark. Aided by an early history of self-discipline and external control, she exercised great effort to move from "cynicism to humor" and to end college as one who had developed socially and intellectually during the four years. She commented:

> "I have always admired intelligence and my goal in college was to learn to think logically and creatively. Although I have always been a strong believer in perseverence, I have developed a stronger belief in tenacity. My parents were strict and all through high school, I wanted more independence. Now I see little value in total independence. Although it should be one's predominant attitude, there must be a certain amount of dependence on others to bring individual happiness. I have no respect for a person who refuses to let himself become involved with anyone for fear that this person might encroach on his independence."

(Her revelation of low self-esteem late in the interviewing experience surprised the interviewer as she had always appeared gay and competent--"There are many occasions when she shows a revealing, honest and good-natured humor about herself and her situation. It comes as a surprise that she did not like herself and feared for her weaknesses.")

A second girl, Jeanne, seemed to lose her zest and sparkle as she continued through college. Wherever she turned, she appeared to acquire new friends and interests without discarding previous attachments. This extension in addition to carrying several paid jobs to offset heavy debts incurred for her education, burdened and depleted her. A friend commented:

> "She refuses to let go of any friendships--she wants deep relationships with all her friends. This can be frustrating for she doesn't have the time she tries to give everyone."

Jeanne herself commented:

> "I've become more aware of the world and I'm not enough aware of the world. I read more now but I don't read nearly enough. I feel a sort of commitment to some idealistic thing like civil rights--but it's sort of like the beginning and I'm not committed enough. I came here with essentially nothing--from a small town to a university where people are concerned about world problems. In spring I get more depressed. I feel incapable of loving and feel that I shouldn't be loved in return."

These comments came from one whose energy and warmth exceeded that of other students and whose giving had a pleasant and sensitive quality. Her love of people grew out of a small town background of energetic and giving people and out of her need to be loved. She shared with the other three an interest in understanding themselves and others and the capacity to be loyal friends.

The loss of her father influenced Jeanne's vocational interest. After two years in the Peace Corps, she planned to pursue graduate training in psychology and to work with orphaned and deprived children. The dynamic nature of her motivations made her vulnerable to a depressing feeling of not being able to do enough, of helplessness. Others, however, seemed to benefit from her generosity. Along with her eagerness to help others, she showed great respect for her individuality, as reflected here in her attitude toward family life:

> "I guess I have real unorthodox views for a woman. Unlike lots of seniors, I don't want to get married right after college. (A successful, ambitious graduate was pressuring her to marry him.) I want to be independent for awhile and I want to raise my kids as individuals and allow a lot of freedom in the family. I feel that there should be a lot of freedom between husband and wife--a little aura of mystery about the other person--it's very important to respect the interest of the other person and accept them for what they are. And the same for children--I would never want them to be subservient to their parents."

All of the Conflicted Developers valued intelligence and vitality in men and wanted husbands who would have to "think in their work" and in turn they did not intend to let their own minds "stagnate." They also wanted material comfort and pleasant companionship. Their expectations of life were complex, in harmony with diversified interests and energy. Their interest in being totally involved with their children while they were very young indicated nurturance, respect for the needs of individuals and a desire to compensate for personal feelings of having been somewhat neglected.

The student whose home had been characterized by divorce, siblings' problems, the interest of four parents and lively exchange of opinions with adults commented:

> "I want to marry someone very creative such as a writer or someone in law, medicine or politics. I want to work before marriage and be married a few years before children. My father doesn't want me to come to college to get married but to learn. I would like to get at least a Master's degree and do psychotherapy. I would like to work for the Democratic party. Hopefully,

> my husband will make a good salary as that is what I'm used to at home. I hope to marry a smart, intellectual man--someone who is better than me when I try my hardest, so I don't have to hold in. And he has to be outgoing because I'm not. He has to be the opposite of me--although complementary, too, and really like me.
>
> "I don't want to be like some of my high school friends--they don't think at all--just what mama and papa told them to think--you can't argue with them at all--they are all conservative Republicans and they are all going to marry the insurance man and they will all eat their little lunches and go to their little clubs."

Like other girls in this group, she wanted a lot out of life and worked hard to make herself worthy; not taking for granted easy achievement of goals. The same ambitiousness is indicated by the daughter of a diplomat whose college years were characterized by a desire for close interpersonal relationships, interest in international understanding and an adventurous spirit.

> "John was critical and said that I was turning out to be just as my parents wanted me to. If that were true, I would continue in government or teaching to please my father, which in a sense I am doing. But I feel that I am doing it in my own way. My parents are the ones who gave me and my sisters opportunities, encouragement and freedom of expression--freedom to pursue what we want to do and the feeling that what we want to do is something worthy. I would like a husband who is kind and understanding, who values education, is well-rounded and has a strong personality. My life will have direction and purpose and I want to accomplish something positive--like furthering international understanding, if I were to be the wife of a diplomat. Hopefully, my husband must be able to encourage and want me to do this. I hope ten years from now, I will have recognized my capacity and limitations far better than I know them now. I want a healthy compromise between being independent and tied down, between letting myself "go" and restraining myself. A bad husband would be one with whom I'm living in a middle class house, doing average things and carrying on sort of a prattle--boring would be the word. Someone with whom I could not communicate. I hope for someone stable and intellectually stimulating."

It seems apparent, that although these girls had been burdened by family tragedies, their backgrounds and self-concepts motivated them to expect much of themselves and their lives. Primarily interested in marriage, they envisioned it as an experience that would be intellectually and emotionally demanding and rewarding. They perceived themselves as bearers of both competencies and skills to such marriages. They did not picture men as limited creatures whose affection and interest could be obtained at the price of stifling personal talents. Lacking the family stability and the unusual charm and attractiveness of the Autonomous-Developers, these girls still perceived themselves as worthy of "good" marriages and interesting careers. They were well on the way to the latter but two years after college, in contrast to the Autonomous-Developers, only one of these girls had married. She, like others, was not eager to marry soon after graduation as her life-plan involved development of herself as an individual before attempting family life.

The Moderately Autonomous developed slowly. They came from backgrounds conducive to caution in exploring new things. Their college experiences lowered their self-esteem but presented them with new ideas which necessitated revision of pre-college identities. Much in the college environment convinced them that they were "second-best" and although this was deflating, they realized that the university was a "big pond." Most of them wanted to meet the challenge of adapting to a complex way of life and seemed able to tolerate depression and re-evaluate themselves in terms of revised goals and self-concepts.

THE TRADITIONAL or LEAST AUTONOMOUS (N=15)

Most of the women described so far have assumed individual responsibility for defining and shaping their goals. The Least Autonomous had their goals defined for them by their parents, church and tradition. Their task was only to work out the details. The model called for a woman to be submissive and supportive of a man and to establish and maintain an attractive home, including conforming and achieving children. Individuality and autonomy were irrelevancies if not obstacles.

Relationship with Parents

Several of the Least Autonomous did not choose to accept the challenge of separation from emotional attachment to their parents. These girls appeared to have no moratorium--no period of testing different ways of life before choosing their own. They seemed eager to hasten from parental home to a similar one of their own. Their "separation process" involved learning to take care of themselves physically and possibly modifying some details of the parent-defined goals or means of achieving such goals.

For the most part, the Least Autonomous were courteous to parents. None of them disagreed frequently with their fathers and only one with mother or other adults.[12] This contrasts dramatically with the Autonomous who frequently opposed both parents openly. This did not mean that the girls were uncritical of their parents nor that an occasional girl did not act out dramatically in opposition to parental expectations. However, they did not verbally confront their parents with differences in opinion. About half in the Least Autonomous group came from Catholic or Southern homes or homes with military fathers. Cultural factors may have reinforced constitutional and developmental tendencies toward overt docility.

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[12] See Table 2, page 82.

Characteristics of the Least Autonomous

Most of these young women went steady in high school and were skilled in upper-middle class social behavior. Often their men friends viewed women in highly feminine and sentimental terms. The Least Autonomous apparently attracted these men because of submissiveness, daintiness and flattering projections of masculine superiority. They worked hard at being pleasant and attractive as an end in itself rather than in developing themselves as individuals. It seemed as if they needed a man's life circumstances to define their identities--and this may have accounted for their urgency to marry. As his views hopefully would be those of their parents, the college period of separation from a family was like a long holding of breath until "normal" could be restored--normal being a continuation of that which was before matriculation. Although willing to adapt to a variety of personal idiosyncracies, shortcomings and demands in a boy friend, they usually were careful to attract a man whose movement toward providing a prosperous suburban home was apparent. These were the homes that they had been raised in and these were the homes they wanted for their children.

Frequently, the Least Autonomous enjoyed organizing groups for social functions and occasionally involved themselves in service activities. During the interviews the girls talked volubly, with breathless excitement and emotionalism. Emotional lability, excitability, over-concern about details and easy reduction to nervousness seemed to suggest their vulnerability and feelings of pressure. They described long sessions with girl friends dealing with parties, campus activities, holidays and dates or protests about tedious academic demands, disappointments in love and distress about inconveniences and misunderstandings. "Intimates" knew that they were aware of critical barbs and disappointments, but also that they maintained a facade of amiability whenever possible. Their life space was small; and concern with physical appearances, parties, and acceptance by peers like themselves was of paramount importance. Men were desirable as long as they were clean-cut American types with potential of becoming "good providers" and their women friends were acceptable as long as they were supportive, accepting and acceptable to a desired social group.

Thus, during college these girls were not involved in gaining insight into their motivations nor were they concerned with testing their ability to tolerate the existential fact of aloneness and separateness.[13] For them, desirable interpersonal skills included amiability, gaiety, helpfulness and loyalty. Superficial contact with those who "differed"--that is, occasional forays into the world of the intellectual, artistic or foreign--was approved by them as appropriate behavior for young women educated at a prestigious university and determined to marry educated men of probable financial success.

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[13] Thirteen per cent very much enjoyed being alone, in contrast to more than fifty per cent of the other girls. (Table 2, page 82.)

Academic Life and Careers

Intellectually and occupationally, the Least Autonomous tended to choose fields where hard work and precision were rewarded. These girls scored lower on aptitude tests than others previously discussed, and their choice of occupation and definition of personal capacities may have been based on their own comparisons with more able students. For some, the ladylike "B-" was gratefully accepted while others secured better grades because they often chose courses requiring neatness and memorization. With a few exceptions, the college world of the activist and the articulate intellectual did not interest them. Teachers who gave essay questions or give-and-take in discussions left them threatened; their preference was the lecture hall and the objective test. Summer jobs were routine and relatively unskilled.

Following graduation some of the Least Autonomous sought employment as secretaries, as specialists in merchandising, as journalists or editors, and as teachers of physical education or small or handicapped children. Others were in graduate schools of nursing or social work. One mathematics major worked as a computer programmer. Students in English commented that they were good in grammar rather than in creative writing. Three girls left college after a year or two as undergraduates to marry and have children. Faculty and peers described most of these girls as competent, well-organized and reliable, but not imaginative or innovative. Most of them conceived of work as a "filler" until children were born or as an insurance policy. Only a fifth of them contemplated working after the children were twelve years old, in contrast to almost two-thirds of the girls in the other Autonomy groups.

Most girls in this group scored high on the F scales of the OPI and were high in authoritarianism. They welcomed the thought of being controlled by their husbands-to-be. Yet, scrutiny of their family backgrounds indicated that both parents were dominated by the needs of the family per se. The family-centered nature of their interests often placed the mother in a position where she had considerable dominance of an indirect sort. When asked about individuals they admired, a conspicuously large percentage of the Least Autonomous could think of no one. This might indicate the privatistic nature of their lives or disinterest in those who have unusual accomplishments.

The Vigorous Traditionalists (N=8)

Among the Least Autonomous, the Vigorous Traditionalists clearly perceived that autonomy and intellectuality were highly valued by the university community but maintained with considerable independence their determination to follow family-orientedness as a goal. The Conflicted Traditionalists seemed to have the same values but were more dependent and conflicted.

The first eight girls perceived a way of life and a feminine model which had its roots in virtues harmonious with much in our national heritage. Their political philosophies were conservative in the sense that they believed good things in life should accrue to hard-working, conscientious, God-fearing individuals. They were impatient with those unable to care for themselves, needing governmental support. Their students' energies went into being hard-working, reliable, pleasant and idealistic.

Relationship with Parents

Seven girls came from privileged homes and their main interest was to hand down to their children the same sort of home life and opportunities. Five fathers owned businesses or practiced medicine or law privately, and the other two held executive positions in large corporations. Their homes were luxurious and their wives were described by their daughters as conscious of their high social status. Most of these parents, according to their daughters, had vigor, participated actively in their communities and seemed devoted to each other and to their families. They set models which the girls wanted to emulate, and they described their parents as offering appropriately strict guidance and discipline. One student, Mary, commented:

> "I was raised in convent schools. My early life was wonderful. My parents taught me how to respect elders and peers. They had no racial or religious prejudices. They were both from New England but have enjoyed living in India--my mother has been involved in service and educational volunteer work. They trained us children to have high moral standards and be interested in reading, writing, gardening and sports."

She accepted with docility her parents' instructions to write weekly or they would not pay her bills, and their demands for impressive performance during college (even though she was adapting to a long separation and a dramatic change of milieu). Another girls described her parents as demanding ladylike behavior at the table and insisting that the children eat everything on their plates. Most parents of the Vigorous Traditionalists were prominent and respected in their communities and took an active interest in their daughters. The parents felt that their children should "excel in everything--be the best possible individual you can." It seemed apparent to the girls that with attractiveness and social skills, they could reasonably aspire to the material comforts and status of their parents. The suburban life so much disparaged by more intellectual students seemed to the Least Autonomous to be very desirable. They could see little that was unpleasant in having large comfortable homes in "nice" neighborhoods where children could attend superior schools and successful business or professional husbands would have status in the community.

Characteristics

During their college years these girls behaved in a conventional and conforming manner. For example, they did not criticize the administration, and they participated in traditional campus organizations with enthusiasm and diligence. Parties, church-connected activities, disciplinary committees and international social groups enlisted their support. Cheerfulness, reliability and eagerness to accommodate others led other girls to accept them, and administrative personnel showed similar approval. The students sometimes mentioned, a bit ruefully, that scholarly faculty members and students found them relatively uninteresting.

Some of these young women dated a variety of fraternity men and, in fact, usually became involved with young men of high social status who appeared to admire submissiveness. One young man expressed concern that his girl friend, a Vigorous Traditionalist, might have other interests than his care and encouragement. He commented about her values:

> "She has apparently gotten over her 'Save the World' complex and has channeled her deep feelings for others into student government. My leery view of her independence has changed as I've seen how she has become independent only when I am not with her and how when I am around, she wants only to have her opinions considered in our decisions."

Soon after writing this, he reconsidered and terminated the romance, according to our interviewee, commenting that all she needed was "a cause and a committee." This sort of rebuff led some girls to view their energy and vitality with distrust as "unfeminine." Most seemed to experience disappointing romances. All were chaste, asserting their desire to "save" intercourse for marriage. None married during college, but most of them found their successful lawyer or engineer husband soon after graduation. The young women were intelligent, willing to please others and to serve community organizations conscientiously. They showed independence in the sense that they maintained a belief in the dignity of suburban living and conservative political, economic and religious values in spite of assaults from liberal students and faculty members. The comment of a roommate about a Vigorous Traditionalist reflected this attitude:

> "That she managed to hold fairly conservative views and handle the Goldwater defeat in the face of overwhelming liberalism on the part of her friends is an indication of strength of character. She is friendly, pleasant and generally sympathetic."

Attitudes Toward Marriage and Career

Peggy, a tall, vigorous young woman, distrusted her vitality and energy as obstacles to her goal of achieving passivity and submissiveness in her relationship to men. For her this was ideal behavior. Her academic goal was to graduate with average grades from a good college. She hoped to work as a secretary or in business administration before she married a dominant, successful man. Like others in this group, her background was full of strong, successful men. Her recurrent daydream glorified the pampered, privileged woman of earlier times; although in actuality, Peggy took on a variety of demanding, semi-skilled jobs and performed them with vigor and competence.

She expected to comply with parental wishes that she "marry well" but resented her mother's anxiety about her marital prospects. Peggy protected herself coldly against her mother's inquisitiveness at the same time that she attempted energetically to comply with her wishes. She perceived her mother as overly energetic, organizationally-minded and dominating. Comments about her conception of marriage follow:

> "I'm like my mother. If a boy will let me, I'll push him around--I don't want a husband who'll let me push him around. I want him to be boss. In a marriage a woman should look up to the man, respect him and his word is final. I like to be thwarted by superior reasoning, or at least I like to think I've been thwarted by superior reasoning.... (Describing a boy whom she admired) Dick says, 'I want my breakfast, my clothes in order, and she's going to write my letters'--he doesn't mean it completely, but he means it almost completely--'When I get up in the morning, she's there--I don't care what she does from 9 to 5 but when I get back at 5, she's going to be there. Between 9 and 5 I don't care if she flies to the moon.'
>
> "All I know is that I will do whatever my husband wants me to do--if he wants me to be active in the community, I will be; if he doesn't want me to be, I won't be. I would be just as happy as a college professor's wife as I would be being a corporation lawyer's wife--it's a matter of being happy with some man. I don't have any particularly ambitious career goals for myself--I'll find fulfillment in being important to someone else. I can't stand the idea of being a career woman."

She, like other Vigorous Traditionalists, treasured her family membership in elitist social clubs and perceived her numerous and influential personal contacts as part of her dowry. Mary, previously mentioned, hoped to marry someone in international trade. Her father, employed by an American firm with international offices, had lived with his family in various European and Asian countries. Her mother has been active in Catholic social services wherever the family settled.

Christianity meant equality of opportunity to Mary, and she ventured into Mississippi to further such ideals. There she tutored underprivileged children and upon return to the campus continued volunteer work in the civil rights movement. She chose girl friends who were adventurous and conspicuously "ladylike."

> "My friends and I are looked upon as exceptions--we want to go on to graduate schools, not get married right away. I don't think I'm ready. Other girls clutch on to a boy and feel 'if you have doubts, don't harbor doubts--we'll work it out.' I think it's important that you do entertain doubts and see what's there.
>
> "I like men because they are practical, logical and pragmatic. They see me as 'just like a girl.' I love to cook, make cookies, pick flowers, decorate my room. I like to talk to boys about sex--they find reserved girls like me puzzling. Once married, I do not intend to work. Your duty is to your children and to give them all there is of yourself and open the world to them. I think you're cheating yourself or your children or your husband if you do something that will take a large hunk of your time and demand commitment."

Mary developed interests and values appropriate for her dream of a marriage that involved mobility. She was eager and willing to live in foreign countries and confident that she could establish an "orderly" American home" wherever she lived.

Ann was an excellent example of a person who preferred stability and the familiar. She came to college with a boy friend who resembled her father and whom she intended to marry. Having decided in first grade that she wanted to be a dietician and with her husband-to-be selected and secured, her college career simply became a matter of working out details of her life. In her sincere and honest fashion, she described her aspirations with great clarity:

> "Ten years from now I hope to have our own home--I hope George will be an engineer working where he will be happy with sufficient income to support our family and save so we can enjoy life's pleasures before we are too

old. We want to give our children what our parents gave us. I want George to have time for baseball and golf but also time to spend with us on camping trips and we should be able to jointly participate in civic groups.

"I want to be a good mother and wife standing behind George and helping our children to find life's goodness and values. I hope that I also will be able to act as a neighbor, to participate in women's clubs (though not excessively) and to keep my mind through reading and perhaps some nutritional work. But if it is too much to do, with a family, I hope that I will give them up; for my husband and family must come second only to God. Lastly, to have a good life must mean to have God in your life, not only as a personal God to help in ethical decisions, but also a family tie with all of us going to the same church and giving time and talents to it.

"College has deepened my appreciation of what my home has given me--love of culture, intelligence, family friends and God. A useful career in nutrition will be of value to family and neighbors and a knowledge of other subjects will enable me to view world events and understand George's work. College has helped me in realizing the give and take that must exist in any relationship and the only thing that might keep me from using this knowledge is my dominant personality. This may lead to sorrow as neither husband nor children like to be bossed around.

"Coming from a secure economic home may make it hard for me to adjust to making the sacrifices that the wife of a young engineer must make. However, having a religion is a valuable help to overcoming seemingly impossible barriers and while God should absolutely not be an opiate, He can be a source of great strength."

Peggy, Mary and Ann were serious, reflective young women whose major efforts concerned fashioning themselves into desirable wives for successful men. They thought of themselves primarily in terms of sex role and secondarily as individuals. They viewed with pleasure the prospect of subordinate roles to men. They were ambivalent about their high intelligence and unusual vitality. These strengths were valued as contributing to acceptance by a prestigious university with accompanying propinquity to brilliant young men. On the other hand, their definition of femininity necessitated curbing their energy and intellectual potential.

Louise, whose description follows, is an anomaly among the Vigorous Traditionalists. She wanted to have twelve children, a traditionally feminine goal for a future scientist. She differed from the other girls in social class background, in the seriousness of her professional aspirations, and in her lack of concern about masculine superiority. The three girls just described had college-educated, wealthy parents whereas Louise's parents were poor and had not completed high school.

Louise was a post-Sputnick phenomenon. Since her freshman year in high school, teachers had recognized her competence in theoretical mathematics and she planned a scientific and academic career. At the same time, her Irish-Catholic upbringing imbued her with a sense of respect for the idealized maternal figure who was central in her heritage. (Her mother had nurtured and provided wisdom not only for her own twelve children but also for an assortment of neighbors and relatives.) Her mother's calmness and strength of character in face of an incapacitating illness and her father's willingness to stand up for what he perceived as right made her proud to identify with them. Interfamily conflict appeared to be minimized in this devout Catholic household where religious rules were observed and the parents' responsibility was described as "guiding rather than manipulating." Louise worked part-time as a waitress from the young age of thirteen in "an environment where she was daily aware of the not-so-nice aspects of life."

Her college career was impressive. She continued to support herself, almost totally, during college; she finished a difficult academic course in three instead of four years; during college she married an older mathematician who shared both her professional interests and her interest in having a large family. She seemed to go about her business calmly, bending, modifying and moving steadily toward her dual goals.

In analyzing the college careers of the Vigorous Traditionalists two factors stand out. First, there seems to be a narrowness in the lives of five of the eight students. Graceful personal living and an entertaining social life seem paramount. Although their parents gave them material comfort and stability, they appeared unable to provide cultural and intellectual stimulation or a type of communication which could lead to an understanding of oneself or others. Secondly, the girls frequently expressed fears of being dominant. Interviewers inferred either that the submissiveness of these students was a reaction formation or that their concept of femininity involved constant constraint of behavior construed as threatening the superiority of males.

THE CONFLICTED TRADITIONALISTS (N=7)

The other seven Least Autonomous girls showed qualities of submission, an assumption of the feminine role to the exclusion of other activities and excessive dependency upon family and friends. For four girls of Catholic backgrounds, being a wife and mother appeared to be their major self-image.[14] They described the family as the unit of importance, and both males and females submerged themselves for its survival. They described the family as an institution that thwarted individual development and encouraged a symbiotic type of dependence. The fathers were pampered in the sense of never being directly criticized. One mother specifically instructed her daughter that women must always apologize to men. The daughter observed that not only was her father upset by any implication of error on his part but also that the world outside the home interested him little. Although a successful businessman, his main pleasures were to play golf with "the boys" and stay passively around home relying on his wife for vitality and stimulation. According to her daughter's observation, she resented this. The daughter left the university after a year as an undergraduate and married a masculine-appearing man who needed constant prodding to face the world outside the home.

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[14] Catholic girls, devout or otherwise, are present in the other subgroups but there seems to be a cluster here among our 49 interviewees.

Because these girls led sheltered lives prior to college and relied on family and church for personal decisions, the freedom of a non-parochial coeducational university presented them with overwhelming opportunities for impulse expression and minimal training in personal assumption of responsibility for behavior. Frightened by their impulses, they hastened into marriages before they could clarify their own identities. The young women often settled for the best that they could get at the moment. This was openly discussed by some girls who, although aware of the limitations of their husbands-to-be, proceeded in a way previously described by a more autonomous Vigorous Traditional, as "if you have doubts, don't doubt--it can be worked out."

In one early marriage neither husband nor wife had a chance to clarify their own personal identities or establish a feeling of intimacy with each other before they found themselves expecting a baby. The girl's parents assisted the young family financially, while the young couple seemed to meet the needs of the parents for continued close involvement. They welcomed the baby as a reinforcement of family solidarity. When the baby began to show signs of independence, which was discouraged, the pleasures of early motherhood were dimmed. By then, a second child was on the way and the two families again anticipated gratifications of caring for another helpless and dependent infant.

These girls sought out husbands-to-be earnestly and eagerly. Their submissiveness is described by a friend of one girl:

> She is now less dependent on her boy friends. I think she went with some of her previous boy friends because they were available, more so than because they were chosen for their particular qualities or personality. She seemed to need a boy friend; she was not extremely choosy.

> "I lost respect for her with her first boy friend because she would not only change her clothes to please him but also her personality. When she realized that she could not go on being his toy doll any longer, it was difficult to break with him. ...when she goes with a boy she becomes dependent on him and accepts many of his views."

In several instances, marriage took place before identity was clarified, and parenthood before intimacy was achieved. Individuals and their needs often appeared to be secondary to the survival of the family as a unit.

Characteristics and values

Glimpses of the families of two girls revealed an implacable and demanding father and a dramatically long-suffering mother who sacrificed "all," including her children's well-being, to "saving" her husband. One man was a recluse who demanded services of his wife to the exclusion of time and energy for herself or her large family. The other man, an alcoholic, managed to maintain a precarious control only when his wife gave all of herself to his problems. The drama of the mothers' sufferings appeared to have an unconscious appeal for the girls and they took on the role of noble women who understood the limitations of men and were willing to try to "save" them. Friends described one girl in this manner:

> "She is a rather prissy "runner" of other people's lives. She says so much about liking people and at the same time so much about how they are all wrong that I can hardly abide it. She is sweet to the point of being saccharine and has very little insight. Her religiosity is a thin veneer of socially acceptable concern for others which barely covers all sorts of quite un-Christian feelings."

> "An aura of neat, moral primness is appealing but also unnerving when compounded by an attitude of patient tolerance for the sins of the world."

The crudeness of men and of women with more sparkle and aggressiveness was often discussed as a burden that these girls had to contend with. Since they glorified the "frilly and feminine" types, they attracted young men who shied away from more independent and autonomous girls. Possibly because the Conflicted Traditionalists appeared to be so simple and helpless, young men who were fearful of aggression or complexity were drawn to them, and viewed them as idealized and romantic models. One young husband, commenting about one of our interviewees, his senior by two years, said:

> "The characteristic about her that endears her to me is her simplicity. Often she is very much a little girl, honest in her actions and I can trust her to say what she feels and thinks about things. I do not have to second guess her for she is not deceitful. She also has the ability to thoroughly enjoy experiences and appreciate life. She does not approach a new situation before living it; she submerges herself in her emotional experience and often I think gets more from it than do those who pride themselves on their intellectual awareness."

The students in this subgroup frequently indicated feeling superior to less domestically-oriented women and turned to girls like themselves for models. A Conflicted Traditionalist commented:

> "The person I admire most is my room-mate--my first image of her was of her sitting in a chair knitting for her fiancé. She's very domestic, sweet and thoughtful--too sensitive and too thoughtful. The only time we ever had a fight was when I wanted to carry my suitcase and she wanted to carry my suitcase and she had a back injury. I told her and I told her not to do it."

For many of these young women religion offered a magic quality including an all-protecting diety who was ready to reward them for patience and self-sacrifice. Another way they defended themselves against feelings of anxiety and helplessness was to deny what was unpleasant. "I tend to ignore things I don't approve of; if I don't like something, I just can't remember it," commented the student just quoted. Blocking and forgetting unpleasantness was more conspicuous in this group than in other subgroups.

Another girl of this subgroup seemed unable to describe herself and her family members as individuals. Most of what she said about them was in terms of behavior. Complete docility and unnecessary self-sacrifice characterized her behavior. Although from a wealthy background, she worked at menial tasks in depressing surroundings. At the university she buried herself in studying in order to qualify for an overseas campus and while there managed to avoid the pleasures and stimulation of the experience. She described the most gratifying aspect of her overseas opportunity as the completion of a hand-knit sweater.

Occupational Choice

For the most part, these girls moved toward marriage with lawyers or engineers and viewed marriage as their major goal. They cultivated social and domestic skills and spent considerable time and effort on the maintenance of physical attractiveness. They took their occupational training seriously in order to acquire "insurance policies" and to make early marriages possible by contributing some financial support. Work involving precision and orderliness, such as computer work, secretarial work and language training gratified them. Work that involved having others depend on them, such as social work or teaching the handicapped, also had appeal. The following comment suggests that independence on the part of those aided might be resented:

> "I want to work with handicapped children because they appreciate everything you do for them. They are not sassy like normal children who take everything for granted. Crippled children are like big babies, so appreciative of everything you do for them it is just delightful."

These girls lacked the sturdiness and zest of the Vigorous Traditionalists who, although authoritarian, still wanted to be able to function as individuals in a variety of circumstances. Although all the Least Autonomous looked forward to the protection and status involved in a socially and economically fortuitous marriage, the Vigorous Traditionalists did not have the clinging need for support and completion that seemed characteristic of the Conflicted Traditionalists.

SENIOR QUESTIONNAIRE DIFFERENCES

Having first divided the students just described into subgroups on the basis of clinical evaluation of the interview protocols, we then turned to psychological test scores and noted the existence of statistically significant differences between the groups. Next, we analyzed student communication about feminine role and autonomy. Data to follow summarize responses of women students to a questionnaire administered to them as seniors. This questionnaire contained questions eliciting student evaluation of the college experience and personal changes in values and aspirations.[15] Table 2, to follow, indicates similarities and differences in responses to questions concerning autonomy and Table 3 deals with feminine role perceptions. These tables include information not only about the Autonomy groups but also about groups of women students divided according to scores on the Social Maturity Scale of the Omnibus Personality Inventory. This accords with our suggestion that the Social Maturity Scale be utilized as one device for early identification of autonomy groups among women students. However, supplementary questionnaire data are necessary to duplicate the autonomy groups for further research.

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[15] The twenty page senior questionnaire, answered by almost 1200 seniors at Berkeley and Stanford indicated differences in attitudes and interests between men and women students and these responses are included in the Appendix. The questionnaire was administered in 1965. (See also footnote 1.)

Questionnaire Responses Concerning Interpersonal Relations.

The Autonomous-Developers in the process of actively separating themselves from their parental homes appeared to limit their disagreements to interaction with parents. In the interviews these students described themselves as more mature, socially-skilled and intellectual than the majority of Stanford women. The Autonomous-Developers appeared to be respected and admired by their peers, although most of them preferred close relations with a few people to group involvement or devoting much time to a large number of friends. The Developers seldom reported serious arguments with their peers although others often sought them out for advice and support. They valued time alone for thinking and reflection or for pursuit of intellectual and artistic interests. Also they often spent much of their time with a prospective husband, enjoying close companionship and sharing intellectual interests. They avoided superficial relationships and enjoyed closeness and mutual understanding with a few men and women friends.

The Autonomous-Developers felt that confrontation with problems in other people caused changes in themselves during college. The Autonomous-Conflicted contrasted dramatically with the first group. Either because they were forced to use most of their energy in coping with personal problems or because their advice was not sought by other students, none of these young women indicated that the problems of others was a major factor in personal changes during college. A third of the Moderately Autonomous and Least Autonomous felt that changes in themselves had occurred as a result of confrontation with problems in others. (Students in all subgroups were aware of confrontation with problems within themselves as a cause of change.) Both the Least and Moderately Autonomous seemed loathe to disagree with adults, especially parents. Both also felt that they had not changed much during college in freedom to express feelings and opinions. They engaged less frequently in creative activities and resorted to prayer more often than the more autonomous girls.

The more socially mobile groups (Autonomous-Conflicted and Moderately Autonomous) described the living group as an important change-producing influence. It is probable that the living groups provided a vehicle for transmitting patterns of social behavior deemed appropriate by girls interested in attracting well-educated and ambitious young men. The Autonomous-Developers and Least Autonomous previously had received considerable socialization toward this end.

Table 2

AUTONOMY: RESPONSES TO SELECTED SENIOR QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS OF FOUR AUTONOMY GROUPS AND THREE SOCIAL MATURITY GROUPS (Figures are percentages)

Autonomy Group					Senior Questionnaire Response	Social Maturity Group			
Aut. Dev. (N=6)	Aut. Confl. (N=11)	Mod. Aut. (N=11)	Least Aut. (N=15)	Difference*		High (N=43)	Med (N=43)	Low (N=45)	Difference*
					Disagree frequently with				
50	73	18	0	.001	father	53	22	12	.001
67	46	18	7	.05	mother	51	16	19	.002
33	27	9	7	NS	other adults	33	19	9	.04
0	27	27	18	NS	men friends	19	23	17	NS
0	19	21	20	NS	women friends	19	21	20	NS
83	55	54	13	.02	Very Much Enjoys Being Alone	40	35	22	NS
50	55	9	13	.012	Frequently Active in Creative Expression	40	28	13	.003
100	82	36	13	.002	Almost Never or Never Prays	65	54	41	NS
50	82	36	46	.05	Very or Mod Dissat. with Admin.	63	47	30	.008
50	81	27	33	.01	Changed Much in College re Freedom to Express Feelings	42	30	35	NS
					Causes of Change During College (Much Effect)				
100	64	73	67	NS	Confrontation with Problems in Self	91	65	57	.001
83	0	36	33	.01	Confrontation with Problems in Others	58	28	36	.01
0	45	36	20	.02	Living Group	26	26	35	NS
100	73	45	27	.02	Graduate School Plans (Yes)	91	73	60	.004
					After Graduation Ranks as of First Three Importance (of 14)				
50	45	36	0	.05	Intellectual and Artistic	50	31	16	NS
50	64	18	13	.05	Time for Thinking & Reflection	41	31	16	.017
0	36	55	33	NS	Seeking a Personal Identity	50	52	40	NS
17	18	36	33	NS	Career	19	19	30	NS
67	82	64	20	.05	Plans Full-Time Work when Children are over 12 years	61	42	30	.001
67	36	20	7	.05	Disagrees somewhat or strongly re desiring a husband who can control her		Not Available		

*Significance levels for differences between groups are based on chi-square tests.

Interests and Aspirations

Both the Social Maturity subgroups and the Autonomy subgroups revealed a linear progression of intent to continue in graduate school. The Low Social Maturity scorers and Least Autonomous were least committed to graduate school training while the High Social Maturity scorers and Autonomous-Developers were most apt to have graduate school plans. Follow-up studies have indicated that most of the Moderately Autonomous students who had indicated uncertainty as seniors actually pursued graduate education. During their senior year, their uncertainty seemed to stem from financial problems and from the pioneering aspect of their venturing into professional fields.[16]

Students had been asked to rank fourteen items in terms of their expected importance after graduation. Four are included here which appear to deal with the quality of autonomy. The Autonomous-Developers and Autonomous-Conflicted placed more importance on intellectual and artistic matters, and on time for thinking and reflection than did the other groups. However, the Moderately Autonomous were more interested in artistic and intellectual activities than the Least Autonomous. Young women in the two Autonomous groups indicated less frequently than the others that a career as such would be important after graduation. This unexpected difference may have occurred by chance, but the interview protocols suggest that there might be a real difference in attitude about this matter. For example, many of the Least Autonomous felt that a career and a job were synonymous and easy access to a job was valued as a good insurance policy in case marital plans proved disappointing. One or two of the Least Autonomous indicated that when they checked careers as of major importance, they had meant their future husbands' careers. For the Autonomous, the aspect of work that appealed to them was the opportunity to test their competencies.

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[16] Percentage of Autonomy Groups and Social Maturity Groups Planning to Attend Graduate School in the Next Few Years

	AUTONOMY GROUPS					SOCIAL MATURITY GROUPS			
	Aut. Dev. (N=6)	Aut. Confl. (N=11)	Mod. Aut. (N=11)	Least Aut. (N=15)	Differences*	High (N=43)	Med. (N=43)	Low (N=45)	Differences*
Yes	100	73	45	27	.02	91	73	60	.004
No	0	18	18	60		9	27	40	
Maybe	0	9	36	13					

*Significance levels for differences between groups are based on chi-square tests, comparing Yes against No plus Maybe.

Money *per se*, or the security of a job and regular advancement had less appeal than freedom to pursue individual interests and talents. Many commented that jobs as they now existed for women were unstimulating and irrelevant to their desire to develop artistic skills, satisfy intellectual curiosity or work for human betterment. Although a third of the *Least Autonomous* ranked interest in a career of great importance following graduation, only 20% of them planned full-time work when the children were 12 or over in contrast with two-thirds or more of the students in other subgroups.

The *Autonomous-Developers* were among students least concerned with seeking a personal identity. Probably because they had been treated as unique individuals most of their lives, by their senior year they had resolved a number of conflicts dealing with identity and with what they wanted out of life. Most of them were involved seriously with a young man and had chosen a satisfactory occupational interest. Thus, they had answered two questions often connected with definition of a "personal identity."

Dating and Marriage

An examination of Senior Questionnaire responses related to feminine role perceptions indicated several similarities and only a few differences among subgroups. As a group the *Autonomous-Developers* dated less than students in the other groups during high school but in college they--and the *Least Autonomous*--appeared to have the largest number of dates. Information obtained by 1967 indicated that the majority of the *Autonomous-Developers* and *Least Autonomous* were married two years out of college. The *Autonomous-Conflicted* were most apt to commit themselves to early marriages. The *Moderately Autonomous* dated least and tended to anticipate later marriages. Seventy-three per cent of the latter dated once a week or less during their senior year in college and only one married during college. They also had the smallest percentage who described themselves as experiencing high sexual intimacy in contrast with students in the two *Autonomous* groups.

To a question dealing with the desirability of control by husbands, more of the *Moderately* and *Least Autonomous* responded that they desired such control. Evaluations of fourteen aspects of life according to their expected importance after graduation showed a division of marital role--namely, differentiation between relations and activities with the future family, and love and affection *per se*. With the *Least Autonomous*, both love and affection and future family rank very high. While only a third of the *Autonomous-Developers* ranked future family of primary importance, all of them listed love and affection among their first choices.

Table 3

FEMININE ROLE: RESPONSES TO SELECTED SENIOR QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS OF FOUR AUTONOMY GROUPS AND THREE SOCIAL MATURITY GROUPS

(Figures are percentages)

Autonomy Groups					Senior Questionnaire Response	Social Maturity Groups			
Aut. Dev. (N=6)	Aut. Confl. (N=11)	Mod. Aut. (N=11)	Least Aut. (N=15)	Differ-ences*		High (N=43)	Med. (N=43)	Low (N=45)	Differ-ences*
					During College Participated Frequently in				
33	27	47	60	NS	Social Activities	44	56	34	NS
17	18	9	13	NS	Service Activities	58	37	26	.008
0	9	27	18	NS	Church	14	23	22	NS
17	27	36	6	NS	Museums, Drama, Symphony	28	35	13	
83	27	27	53	.08	Resembles Father Emotionally**	46	49	46	NS
17	64	73	40		Resembles Mother Emotionally	54	51	54	NS
50	27	26	27	NS	No Dates, or One or Two a Year During Last Two Yrs. of High School	27	38	28	NS
					Number of Dates per week Senior Year				
17	18	73	27		One or Less				
33	27	9	20		Two				
33	9	18	33		More than Two				
17	36	0	20		Married				
67	45	64	60	NS	Attributed Change to Close Relationship with Men	74	72	52	.05
50	36	9	20	NS	High Sexual Intimacy	40	35	31	NS
					After Graduation Ranks in First Three in Importance (of 14)				
100	55	64	93	.05	Love and Affection	83	71	86	NS
33	27	73	80	.05	Future Family	45	56	66	NS
33	45	73	60	NS	Desiring Husband who will control her				
67	54	73	93	NS	Desiring More than Two Children	72	74	87	NS
67	82	64	20	.02	Planning Full-time Work after Children are 12 years old	61	42	30	.001
84	36	27	60	***	Married by 1967 (follow-up data)	Not Available			

*Significance levels for differences are based on chi-square tests.

**One person each in the *Autonomous-Conflicted* and *Least Autonomous* Groups indicated neither.

***Percentages based on only part of the interview sample.

These girls had been emotionally involved with their fathers, and companionship and affection from potential husbands was of paramount importance. The *Autonomous-Conflicted* ranked both future family and love and affection of lesser importance than girls in other subgroups did. Although the majority of young women in the interview sample wanted more than two children, the *Least Autonomous* were conspicuous in that the majority among them wanting more children was largest of all. In harmony with their family-orientedness, only 20% of these girls were interested in working full-time after their children were 12 years of age in contrast to almost two-thirds of the girls in other subgroups.

Parental Identifications

Although men and women students as well as High, Medium or Low scorers on the Social Maturity Scale showed no statistically significant difference in regard to which parent they resembled, we found meaningful differences in regard to our Autonomous subgroups. Answers to this question made sense in terms of our knowledge of the girls from their interview communications. Of the four groups, more of the *Autonomous-Developers* indicated that they resembled their fathers. These girls came from homes with relative stability and affluence where fathers actively involved themselves in influencing the intellectual development of their daughters. They appeared to treat them primarily as individuals; sex-role performance played a secondary role. The majority of the *Autonomous-Conflicted* girls said they resembled their mothers which may have been in part by default. The mothers of these girls played an important role in family matters and encouraged the development of their talented daughters while the fathers often were absorbed in their own emotional or drinking problems. Each identification presented difficulties. For the *Autonomous-Developers* attachment to the fathers and depreciation of the mothers presented intensified separation problems and confusions about femininity. The *Autonomous-Conflicted* feared being overly aggressive and expressed concern about overcoming a depreciating attitude toward men.

Most of the *Moderately Autonomous* indicated that they resembled their mothers emotionally. Although these students respected both parents they looked forward to a feminine pattern comparable to their mothers. The university environment presented them with new intellectual values which tended to enrich their aspirations without dislodging the mothers as primary identification figures. In the case of the *Least Autonomous*, the family appeared to be the unit of primary importance with both parents indicating in one way or another that they were family-centered. Although many of the men had successful business or professional careers, it was the family-centered aspects of their lives that were familiar to their daughters. The mothers involved themselves directly either in their children or in social-community activities designed to enhance the father's role as provider or status-giver of the family. The *Least Autonomous* divided rather evenly when asked which parent they resembled. However, a slightly larger percentage indicated the father, who often was described as quieter and less emotionally-explosive than the mother.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Examination of the interview protocols of forty-nine students at a selective university provided data to explode the myth that there is such a single entity as the "able college woman." Although these students all possessed academic talent, energy, leadership potential and motivation, their dissimilarities in home backgrounds and college experiences suggest a need for a variety of educational interventions. The purpose of such interventions would be to encourage college women to perceive themselves as individuals free to design lives harmonious with their competencies. Whether a competent woman chooses a profession, a job, community service, home-making, motherhood or any combination of these activities is an individual decision which should be based upon her evaluation of her capacities, energies, and interests. However, few women in our sample appeared free to work wholeheartedly in pursuit of non-domestic interests or toward positions of power or prestige without anticipating reproof. Often they feared criticism of their femininity or worthiness for marriage. Sometimes they were discouraged when they perceived difficulties in entering or continuing challenging careers because of inflexible work conditions.

Educational Recommendations for Autonomy Groups

Assuming that it is feasible to classify women students early in their college careers in terms of autonomy, what special services would we recommend for each group? The *Autonomous-Developers* were perceived by other students as women who enjoyed artistic-intellectual interests, saw themselves as active, developing individuals, and gave promise of becoming valued wife-companions and devoted mothers. However, the university community poorly met some needs of these students. Primarily they needed and did not receive information about women occupied in challenging careers. It would have been useful for the *Autonomous-Developers*, as well as for other students, if more opportunities existed to observe and talk with women engaged in rewarding professional and

and volunteer work. Increasing the number of women on campus in teaching, research and administration would facilitate such encounters.

Expert counsel, early in their college careers, appears essential for young women who plan to pursue absorbing interests as well as assume marital responsibilities. Realistic planning is essential for this complex dual commitment. Women students should have access, as freshmen, to seminars dealing with personality development of able individuals during and after college. Such seminars could lead to fuller utilization of the college experience as well as help the student establish a foundation for a challenging and productive life.

The author of this paper conducted such a seminar in 1968, and both men and women students were in attendance. This was as desired because if some of the nation's most able women aspire to lives affecting "prejudices which keep half of mankind from participating in planning and decision-making,"[17] efforts also must be directed toward educating men to accept such a partnership. The seminar, facilitating exchange of ideas between a small number of individuals, was chosen as the most appropriate classroom pattern for clarification of sex role alternatives. Class meetings of the seminar were tape-recorded, including student evaluation of changes in attitude and life-plans. The freshmen who attended the class are now entering their sophomore year and will be interviewed as seniors to ascertain further the impact of the course on their attitudes and college careers. Follow-up interviews may further our understanding of comments such as the following by one of the women freshmen.

> "I think that I have a better recognition of the influences and conflicts in my own life and that I can see more clearly new alternatives in

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[17] Erickson, Erik H. Identity: Youth and Crisis. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1968, pp. 292-293. In discussing women's potential contribution to national and technological expansion if the "confinements" are broken, Erikson comments: "There will be many difficulties in a new joint adjustment of the sexes to changing conditions, but they do not justify prejudices which keep half of mankind from participating in planning and decision-making, especially at a time when the other half, by its competitive escalation and acceleration of technological progress has brought us and our children to the gigantic brink on which we live, with all our affluence."

> developing my own life style. The seminar forced me to really confront my future role as a woman for the first time. The idea of reconciling a satisfying career with the role of wife and mother had seemed almost impossible before."

Special efforts on behalf of the Supercompetents should be designed to help them accept both their femininity and their human fallibility. Because of their harsh self-demands, it might be beneficial to assign them men advisers who not only respect their task-orientedness and competence but also value them as women. These girls need the consistent interest of male advisers who are warm, non-judgmental and supportive. The Supercompetents in our study worked as tutors, sponsors and civil rights workers. It seems appropriate to offer courses which would help them develop competencies to serve others without being either perfectionistic or paternalistic. Such courses concerned with problems of less well-organized individuals might assist them in gaining insight into their own defensive behavior.

Educational goals for the Overwhelmed should include attempts to minimize self-destructive acting-out behavior. This group included students from lower economic groups who needed special guidance in adjusting to a demanding university with complex upper middle class social mores. Not infrequently the women viewed themselves as personally inadequate when, in fact, some of the problems they encountered resulted from their social mobility. Such lowered self-esteem and confusion sometimes led to self-destructive behavior which limited or complicated their lives. In addition to skillful personal guidance, a seminar dealing with the sociology of higher education and social class behavior in the United States might help them to understand and objectify puzzling personal experiences. Most of the Overwhelmed were scholarship students and their college careers might have been less overwhelming if financial aid had been ample enough to allow them to participate more fully in social and extracurricular activities.

The group classified as Moderately Autonomous resembled the Autonomous Developers in their rather successful progression through four years of college. However, lack of self-confidence in their relationships with men and feelings of depression characterized most students in this group. Co-educational living arrangements and small co-educational seminars might prove helpful. Communication within their families seemed relatively non-verbal and many of these girls needed encouragement to express themselves. Through consistent academic guidance by advisers of either sex, students so classified should be encouraged to be more innovative, experimental and ambitious.

For the Least Autonomous case-study seminars dealing with personality development during and after college could be particularly valuable. These students should have opportunity to learn about problems, skills and goals of students who have aspirations and sex role perceptions different from their own. Co-educational seminars dealing with motivation and personal identity might allow them to view men and women of college age in more complex terms. Studying lives of women might assist them in overcoming romantic illusions which prevent them from participating fully in the opportunities presented within the university. At one point these women should be encouraged to teach social skills and know-how to girls eager for such socialization. By assuming the teaching role at a point when their own development has advanced sufficiently, they might become more secure in their changed identity and, through action, move out of the passivity to which they are prone.

Recommendations for Educational Interventions in the Academic Environment

Several modifications in the college milieu might have benefited all the women we studied. Able young girls need active professional women with whom to identify in addition to the plethora of women now available for identification purposes who are homemakers, community workers and employees in subordinate and routine jobs. As indicated above, the dearth of women professors communicated an omnipresent silent message to many of the women in this study. This paucity was an effective way of suggesting that brilliant women might anticipate difficulty in achieving full-scale acceptance by the same university which encourages love of learning and imparting knowledge. More women professors on a campus might not only encourage able girls to develop their potentialities but also might educate men and women students alike that rewards for merit should not be sex-linked. We would like to reiterate the sentiments of other writers and researchers that in addition to existing university appointments of women, numerous part-time positions at all levels of the academic hierarchy be established. The purpose of this recommendation would be to enable more gifted women scholars, who are also wives and mothers, to contribute to university teaching and research.

In most communities, there are women involved in non-academic occupations which demand resourcefulness, imagination and responsibility. Often they exemplify how women can combine challenging work experiences with gratifying personal lives. Arrangements should be made for such women to serve as counselors and resource persons for girls who aspire to demanding careers. Placement officers should actively solicit pre-professional part-time and summer jobs for women students whose interests and talents do not fit conventional stereotypes of women's work.

Male college teachers and counselors need to learn how to understand and counsel women students. The data reported above emphasize that women students need special encouragement to develop intellectual, artistic and professional ambitions. Repeatedly, their college histories showed the effect of encouragement or lack of such encouragement as a catalytic agent. An interested male has the power to communicate to the maturing young woman that she is not damaging her femininity by developing her mind and skills. The women we studied seemed to need this reassurance. Sometimes even a subtle form of consent or disapproval from a male served as a stimulus for a young woman to advance or retreat.

As already indicated, seminars composed of men and women could provide opportunities for both sexes to learn similarities and differences in personality development. Open discussions in the parental homes of the Autonomous Developers seemed to encourage individuals to think of themselves as having opinions worthy of respect. Hopefully, skillful seminar leaders could impart a similar message and thus enhance the self-confidence of students from less communicative families. Relevant knowledge of the life cycle and problems of both sexes would help men and women work together better in the labor market, in marriage and as parents. The importance of the seminars is that they deal with interpersonal relations, identity formation and the separation process. These are subjects on which students spend much time and serious thought. For many students, such discussions with peers have been described as the most meaningful part of their college experience. By bringing such subject matter into the academic domain, the participation of a knowledgeable adult and utilization of meaningful reading material might offer breadth and focus to what often is a narrow and diffuse type of discussion. Resolution of conflict may proceed in a less tormented fashion than often occurred during the college careers of students in our study.

The preceding suggestions might help young women make their college years meaningful and relevant to the rest of their lives. Research has shown that women students were motivated more by intellectual interests than were Stanford men.[18] The admissions requirements, more stringent for women than men, may have accounted for this at Stanford. Or it could reflect the women's perception of college as an exciting but brief period when they would be taken seriously as intellectuals. If the latter were true, it indeed would be unfortunate. Observation and research point to a human tendency to enjoy the testing and development of competencies and it would seem desirable that these academically gifted women should feel free throughout their lives to develop their fortunate endowments.

Future Research

Freeing young women to think of themselves as individuals whose long lives probably will include career and non-domestic involvements is an educational challenge. Empirical data about the lives of women at differing stages of their life cycles should be collected and transmitted to young students. If women students could be counseled wisely prior to career and marital commitments, the result could well be enriched human productivity and greater personal gratification. Wise counsel requires additional information about adolescent female development. Bruno Bettelheim commented about this lack:

> "What strikes the psychologist forcefully when he surveys the available literature on adolescence and youth, is that, if the amount of discussion were indicative, then all or nearly all problems of youth appear to be those of the adolescent male. True, the more serious authors nod in the direction of female adolescence and recognize that it creates problems, too. But having done so, they turn so exclusively to the problems of the male adolescent that the net impression remains; female adolescence, if it

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[18] Seventy-six per cent of Stanford women and 61 per cent of Berkeley women ranked intellectual interests as first importance in evaluation of courses. Fifty-four per cent of Stanford men and 38 per cent of Berkeley men also ranked intellectual interests as first choice. (Other choices frequently checked were "getting good grades" and "useful for your career.")

> exists at all, does not create problems equally worthy of the sociologist's or the psychologist's interests."[19]

Tantalizingly available for further analysis and dissemination is the wealth of empirical data about female youth obtained by the Student Development Study. The preceding pages dealt with some of this material; but two potentially important contributions to knowledge about adolescent female psychology remain unanalyzed.

First, information about the Berkeley women students awaits examination to confirm or modify what has been reported in this chapter. Compiled simultaneously with the Stanford data and concerned with women students scoring similarily on psychological tests, this material warrants analysis in terms of the assumptions discussed in the preceding paper.

Implicit in the present chapter are suggestions for research in which autonomy groups, similar to those described in this paper would be constituted by administering the Omnibus Personality Inventory (OPI) and a questionnaire consisting of items similar to those used in our present study. Next, interviews with Autonomous, Moderately Autonomous and Least Autonomous women students early in their freshman year would elicit information about goals and sex role perceptions. A sample of these students during their freshman year would be given counseling and seminars as suggested in this paper. This would include exposure to women actively involved in professional, volunteer and maternal occupations. Matched groups of students would be constituted who would not have this type of opportunity. Both samples would be retested and intensively interviewed at a later point in their college careers. The intent of this project would be to suggest and modify educational and guidance programs for academically gifted young women.

Second, the data of the Student Development Study contain valuable information regarding the influence of the peer culture on sex role perceptions and autonomy. They show that for these academically talented young adults, significant clarification of appropriate sex role behavior often occurs during college years. In the sometimes violent see-sawing back and forth between intense narcissism and passionate loyalty to others, the students bruise and help each other. In this self-exploration and exploration of others, these young women get varied impressions of what is desirable and undesirable feminine behavior. For many of them, age-mates provide them with a limiting and submissive image of femininity. For others, the interest and idealism of peers gives them freedom to pursue goals that were beyond pre-college aspirations. The taped interviews include reports of behavior, experiences and reflections of young women at the stage of life which Erikson considers "crucial for the emergence of an integrated female identity."[20] Analysis of this data could well produce theoretical concepts about feminine adolescence as well as pragmatic suggestions of value to educators and counselors.

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[19] Bettelheim, Bruno. The Problem of Generations, Daedalus: Youth, Change and Challenge, The Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Winter, 1962, Vol. 91, No. 1, p. 68.

Balance between Intellectual and Emotional Commitments

Freedom to grow and develop competencies and ability to maintain a flexible balance between individual and family needs seem to be challenges within the scope of many able college women. Modifications in our social institutions and in the self-concepts of women are needed. With our awareness of the long lives of women and the relatively short period of child-bearing and child care, it would seem desirable that young women, early in their college careers, be encouraged to plan lives that would envisage their filling many roles besides that of daughter-wife-mother. They should be encouraged to think in terms of the inevitability that family needs will make varying demands on their time throughout their life cycles. The challenge to educational institutions is to counsel and educate them wisely so that early in their college careers they can build sturdy foundations for full utilization of their talents. With this assistance, hopefully, the challenge of creating a suitable balance between intellectual-occupational and personal-emotional commitments can be met with creative revisions at appropriate times.

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[20] Erikson, Erik H. op. cit., p. 265.

APPENDIX

ANSWERS TO SENIOR QUESTIONNAIRE SHOWING SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN STUDENTS

	Stanford		Berkeley	
	Men (N=272)	Women (N=212)	Men (N=262)	Women (N=239)
Academic Life				
On entering the university, freshman who had a fairly clear idea of what they wanted for an academic major.	%	%	%	%
a. YES	55	55	71	62
b. If YES, the intended major at that time:				
Humanities	19	36	14	43
Natural Sciences	31	40	33	32
Social Sciences	17	21	11	22
c. Major field at graduation of those who answered YES:				
Humanities	22	50		
Natural Sciences	21	13		
Social Sciences	27	13		
Considering most of the courses they had taken, the students ranked the following in order of importance to themselves.				
a. Intellectual interest				
Ranked first	53	76	38	61
Ranked among first three	94	97	92	93
b. Useful for their careers				
Ranked first	26	17	35	22
c. Getting good grades				
Ranked first	18	4	24	12
d. Getting to know the professor in class				
Ranked first	0	1		
Ranked among first three	17	40		
Things in the administration they would like to see improved.				
Greater cooperation between staff and students	31	43	63	81
Choice of Career				
On entering the university, students who had a fairly clear idea of what career or occupation they wanted for themselves.				
Careers or occupations				
Teacher	6	17	3	27
Students who plan to go to a graduate or professional school within the years following graduation.				
Field				
Education	5	22	2	32

	Stanford		Berkeley	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Plans of students not planning to go to graduate or professional school.				
Job (specified)	3	10	8	13
Job (undefined)	4	21	5	11
Occupation or activity likely to be engaged in.				
a. Ten years from now				
Housewife and/or family	0	54	0	49
Teaching (college level)	8	4	5	3
Teaching (elementary or secondary level)	16	14	11	24
b. Twenty years from now				
Housewife and/or family	0	46	0	34
Teaching (college level)	8	4	7	3
Teaching (elementary or secondary level)	15	16	10	29
Students who worked during the summer after their				
Freshman year YES	83	71	78	65
Sophomore year YES	71	58	82	64
Junior year YES	79	67	79	59
Students with semi-professional and apprenticeships				
Freshman year	15	7	15	3
Sophomore year	16	8	20	6
Junior year	20	11	26	7
In the last year, student had been drunk				
a. Never	32	53	40	57
b. More than once	53	26	43	18
In college, students who have formed a deep, meaningful and lasting relationship with one or several friends.				
a. Of own sex YES	78	87	65	82
b. Friends of the opposite sex YES	62	77	49	77
Friendships during the college years which have broken up or were severely strained due to disagreement or conflict.				
None	53	36	51	44

	Stanford		Berkeley	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Enjoyment found in being alone.				
Very much	23	37	14	23
Particular times in the university years that were good in terms of				
Social life Senior year Fall	31	19	33	23
Students now or at any time during college				
a. Going steady	52	65	52	66
c. Engaged	16	23	14	28
Evening dates in an average week				
a. Freshman year None or no response	59	26	62	28
b. Sophomore year None or no response	38	29	46	25
c. Junior year None or no response	31	23	42	24
d. Senior year None or no response	32	25	38	31

Sexual Development

	Stanford		Berkeley	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Students first began taking a more intense interest in sexual matters				
Before 17	65	39	51	32
17-21	29	58	44	63
Students believing that full sexual relations are permissible to the male before marriage.				
Agree strongly	36	22	35	31
During their college years, students' own attitudes towards sex that have involved them in a struggle of conflicting thoughts and feelings.				
Very much	18	35	19	32
Very little	31	15	32	24
During college, students who found that their sexual impulses were increasingly more acceptable to themselves.				
Very much	24	36	23	38

	Stanford		Berkeley	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Anticipation of Marriage and Spouse				
Unmarried students who plan to be married by 25.				
By 25	43	66	43	68
Per cent who want to have more than two children.				
More than two	64	66	56	66
After marriage				
a. Men: Acceptable if wife works				
b. Women: Those who plan to work				
Before having children				
Part time	21	15	25	13
Full time	75	78	70	81
Not at all	4	4	2	3
While the children are under six				
Part time	18	21	18	17
Full time	4	4	3	3
Not at all	77	71	76	76
While the children are between six and twelve				
Part time	37	34	36	36
Full time	8	12	6	13
Not at all	54	49	55	47
After the children are older				
Part time	44	43	42	42
Full time	39	43	37	46
Not at all	17	9	17	9
After they are married, when it comes to making decisions, if they had to choose one or the other, they would want to have their				
Own wishes to have priority over their spouse's	57	9	63	13
Spouse's wishes to have priority	35	83	31	82
No response	7	8	6	4
Men: I would want my wife to have self-control and not be dependent for control on me.				
Agree strongly or somewhat	81		73	
Women: I would not want a husband who could not control me.				
Agree strongly or somewhat		68		66
I feel that a husband should control his wife.				
Agree strongly or somewhat	49	54	46	55

	Stanford		Berkeley	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Relationship with Parents				
Occupations of parents				
Mother's occupation				
Clerical accounting	14	12	18	18
Teaching	10	11	7	9
Other professional	9	9	14	11
Sales	4	2	5	3
Low skilled	1	0	5	5
As a child, before I was 13, I was usually punished				
Only by my father	19	11	20	9
Only by my mother	11	22	15	23
In your opinion, what was the most effective form of punishment used by your parent(s)?				
Corporal punishment	26	16	28	12
Perception of Self, Change and Development				
How students have changed since entering college.				
More self-confidence, poise and independence	26	41	29	35
More stable	23	25	11	14
What contributed to the changes indicated in above question.				
Personal relationships (of a non-romantic nature)	34	48	30	41
To what students attribute the changes that have taken place in them during college.				
Gaining understanding of themselves as a person Much	55	66	42	63
Close relationships with friends of the same sex Much	36	50	27	38
Close relationships with friends of the opposite sex Much	41	66	32	57
Confrontation with problems and conflicts in themselves Much	48	67	38	56
Confrontation with problems and conflicts with others Much	21	38	18	31

	Stanford		Berkeley	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
In the past few years, how often has the student felt depressed?				
Daily	4	3	2	1
A few times a week	13	15	11	13
A few times a month	42	53	44	48
Total	59	71	57	62
Values				
Consider the following human needs. People think that some are more important than others. Rank them in order of importance as you think they have for most people.				
Love and affection				
Ranked first	19	32	23	35
Ranked among first three	57	67	51	72
Emotional well-being				
Ranked first	17	27	24	27
Ranked among first three	47	59	51	63
Achievement				
Ranked first	16	7	17	5
Ranked among first three	44	31	44	30
Rank in order the following interests and activities according to the relative degree of importance you expect them to have in your life after graduation.				
Career or occupation				
Ranked first	26	7	32	11
Ranked among first three	58	24	65	38
Love and affection				
Ranked first	11	23	10	19
Ranked among first three	42	73	44	68
Relations and activities with future family				
Ranked first	18	28	18	34
Ranked among first three	49	58	45	59
Developing a personal identity				
Ranked first	16	26	19	21
Ranked among first three	29	43	34	35